ASSOCIATION OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES FOR NORTHERN STUDIES

The Association represents thirty-three Canadian universities active in northern studies, research and training. Founded at Churchill, Manitoba in 1977, it is a federally incorporated charitable organization.

The purpose of the Association is the advancement of northern scholarship through education, professional and scientific training, and research.

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ASSOCIATION OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES FOR NORTHERN STUDIES
ASSOCIATION UNIVERSITAIRE CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES NORDIQUES

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE NORTH

COMMUNICATING NORTHERN VALUES

Occasional Publication/Publication Occasionnelle No. 9

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PREFACE

Each year the Association sponsors a theme day at its Annual Conference where a topic or a set of issues are discussed that are relevant to people living in the north and to northern scholars. The theme for the 1983 conference (held in Regina in April) was "Communicating Northern Values".

The Association believes that social sciences - in the north and for the north - are going to be of increasing importance in the future. Settlement of native claims, the development of local government and industry, the spread of modern communication technologies, and the adaption of education forms and norms to northern needs are all events and phenomena that will require an enlarged understanding of northern society. The participation of local people in shaping and undertaking the research and study which will be needed, is undoubtedly going to be a vital component now and in the future.

For this theme day, it was suggested by the organizers that the speakers be asked to focus their contributions especially on social values from the experience and perspective of women in the north.

The papers delivered during the course of the day are reproduced here in the order they were given. The Association is deeply indebted to the authors who not only made such an effective contribution to the Regina meetings, but who have also agreed to have their papers published in this form. It was the response and recommendation of those attending the Regina meeting that every effort should be made to publish and distribute these papers to a wide audience.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada has supported this work with a generous grant to cover the production costs of this publication. We should like to express our thanks, on behalf of the Association, to the Council's staff for their interest and tangible response.

Dr. R.R. Riewe of the University of Manitoba, Dr. Graham Rowley of Carleton University and Dean J.B. Carefoot, our host at the University of Regina, were especially helpful in thinking through the design and organization of the day's proceedings.

We are including in this publication a short biography of each author. One person's name is lacking: Dr. Katie Cooke who agreed to come from Victoria to chair the session. Her finesse, humour, and insight added much to the day's success.

J. Gordon Nelson, President

January 1984

PRÉFACE

Chaque année, l'Association organise une Journée d'études dans le cadre de sa Conférence annuelle afin de débattre un sujet ou une série de questions intéressant les Nord-Canadiens et les spécialistes du Nord. Le thème ainsi débattu à l'occasion de la Conférence de 1983 (qui s'est déroulée en avril à Régina) portait sur la "Communication des valeurs nordiques".

L'Association estime que les sciences sociales prendront à l'avenir une importance croissante, tant dans le Nord que pour celui-ci. Le réglement des revendications territoriales des Autochtones, la mise en place d'un gouvernement local et l'expansion industrielle, les progrès des techniques modernes de télécommunications, et l'adaptation des méthodes d'enseignement et des normes pertinentes aux nécessités du Nord canadien constituent des processus et des phénomènes exigeant une compréhension plus complète de la collectivité nordique. La contribution des gens du Nord à la planification et à la réalisation des études et des recherches indispensables constitue, sans aucun doute, un facteur crucial de succès, et le restera à l'avenir.

Les organisateurs de cette Journée d'études avaient demandé aux intervenants de faire porter leurs contributions sur les valeurs sociales, envisagées du point de vue des femmes du Nord, et de l'expérience qu'elles ont de ces valeurs.

Vous trouverez ci-après les communications présentées lors de cette Journée d'études. L'Association est largement redevable à leurs auteurs qui, non seulement ont ainsi fait une précieuse contribution à la réunion de Régina, mais ont également accepté la publication de leurs communications sous la présente forme.

Le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada a contribué à cette publication en subventionnant généreusement sa préparation. De la part de l'Association, nous exprimons aux cadres du Conseil nos plus vifs remerciements pour l'intérêt et le soutien qu'ils ont accordés à cette entreprise.

L'aide fournie sous forme de conception et d'organisation du compte rendu, par MM. R.R. Riewe de l'Université du Manitoba, Graham Rowley de l'Université Carleton, et J.B. Carefoot, Doyen et hôte de la conférence à l'Université de Régina, a été très efficace.

Cette publication contient également une notice biographique pour chaque auteur. Cependant, elle ne cite pas la contribution de Mme. Katie Cooke, qui est venue de Victoria pour présider les débats. Son habileté et son sens de l'humour ont largement contribué au succès de la Conférence.

J. Gordon Nelson,
Président

Janvier 1984

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	i
Préface	ii
Biographies of authors	1
Oral Tradition and Scientific Research: Approaches to Knowledge in the North	3
Julie Cruikshank	
The North: Utilitarian Conscience of the South	25
Pierrette Désy	
Shamanism, Religious Change and Revitalization Movements in the North	41
Joan B. Townsend	
Traditional and Contemporary Roles of Inuit Women	57
Minnie Aodla Freeman	
Women in Northern Resource Towns	61
Alison M. Gill	
'Going North' in Canadian Literature: A Journey into Our Last Frontier	75
Ruth McCleary	

COMMUNICATING NORTHERN VALUES

BIOGRAPHIES OF AUTHORS

Julie Cruikshank

Julie Cruikshank received a B.A in Anthropology from the University of Toronto and an M.A. in Anthropology from the University of British Columbia. She also holds a Diploma in Polar Studies (Distinction) from the University of Cambridge, England. She has lived and worked in the Yukon Territory and Alaska for ten years and has published on such topics as Athapaskan oral narrative, Athapaskan history and changing roles of northern women. She currently works in Whitehorse, Yukon, with the Yukon Native Languages Project and teaches at the University of British Columbia's Yukon Campus.

Pierrette Désy

Professor Désy received her Doctorate in Ethnology from the Université de Paris-Sorbonne and has published widely on Amerindian matters. Currently, she is preparing a section of the Historical Atlas of Canada on Amerindians in eastern Canada in the 19th Century, and is the invited editor of a special edition of Culture (Canadian Ethnology Society) on contemporary research about Canadian Indians. Professor Désy has participated in many national and international conferences and is Professor of Geography at Université du Québec à Montréal.

Minnie Aodla Freeman

Minnie Freeman was born at Cape Hope Island, N.W.T. and is a well known Canadian author. Prior to moving to Edmonton, she was Manager/Producer with the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in Ottawa, and is currently co-producer of a joint IBC/Scope Films of England production being shot at Sanikiluaq, N.W.T. for world-wide distribution. Among her published works are Life Among the Qallunaat (also translated into German) and "Survival in the South" in Paper Stays Put. The play of the latter has been performed at the Dominion Drama Festival, St. John's, Newfoundland, at the National Arts Centre, at Waterdown Little Theatre and on CBC radio. Mrs. Freeman is also a poet and has given many book and poetry readings.

Alison M. Gill

Professor Gill was born in England and received a B.A., Honours Geography, from Hull University. She received an M.A. from the University of Alberta and a Ph.D. from the University of Manitoba in 1982. The title of her dissertation was "Residents' Images of Northern Canadian Resource Communities". Dr. Gill participated as a workshop leader in the ACUNS Symposium on the Dynamics of Boreal Forest Ecosystems in August 1982. Currently, she is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography at Brandon University.

Ruth McCleary

Ruth McCleary was born in Alberta and has lived in Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland-Labrador. Her interest in the North began in North West River, Labrador where she taught in a residential high school and was deeply impressed with the people's profound sense of living in a land and off a land that was in the truest sense their home. When she returned south after three years, Ms. McCleary's interest in the North led her to the study of Canadian literature and a Master's thesis, still in process. She is a part-time English teacher at the Adult Education Centre in Winnipeg and a part-time student at the University of Manitoba.

Joan B. Townsend

Professor Townsend received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1965. Her dissertation title was Ethnohistory and Culture Change of the Iliamna Tanaina. She is a member of a number of national and international scientific societies, and is a Fellow of the Arctic Institute of North America. Dr. Townsend's major areas of research and specialization are the Tanaina Indians of S.W. Alaska, Athapaskan Indians, Alaska Pacific Rim Societies (including Koniaq Eskimo and Chuguch Eskimo, Aleut, and Tanaina), Russian mercantilism in Alaska, and interactions of various Alaska societies. Currently, she is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba.

ORAL TRADITION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH: APPROACHES TO KNOWLEDGE IN THE NORTH.

Julie Cruikshank
Yukon Native Languages Project, Whitehorse, Yukon

The theme selected for today's meetings is 'communicating northern values'. In preparing my presentation, I found this topic becoming increasingly ambiguous and elusive. I am not at all sure what 'communicating northern values' means to scientists and historians who are meeting here.

On one hand, this kind of focus does acknowledge the existence of a very real communications gap between academics who live in southern Canada and residents who live in what has been called the northern 'laboratory', a gap which seems to many of us to have increased during the last decade. On the other hand, by phrasing the theme in this way, we are already defining a particular direction for the discussion. When we speak of 'values' we usually think of a set of beliefs which are seen to be relative (unlike science, where the ability to deal in absolutes is implied). A hidden assumption seems to be that if we can determine some kind of formula for 'northern values' we can get on with the real business and work of northern research. I think that the question may be less one of 'values' than of power - the power of a particular model of knowledge in our society - and the way that power is used by institutions like universities.

I propose that during the next half hour we look at a rather different framework for considering 'northern values' as they impinge on scientific research. This presentation will address the conference theme by moving back one step to argue that in the north there is an indigenous intellectual tradition which informs those values, and that Native oral tradition and western science present contrasting theoretical frameworks for understanding a range of questions asked by scientists, particularly physical scientists working in the north.

The issue can be set out as follows: some scientists working in the north are studying phenomena about which Indians and Inuit have longstanding oral traditions. By and large, members of the scientific community would dismiss traditions embedded in myth and legend as coming from value systems having nothing to contribute to scientific inquiry. However, individual scientists have become quite interested in learning Native oral traditions,

particularly because there are so few written historical documents available in the north.

The question is whether oral traditions of a non-literate society demonstrate more than just 'values', whether they may in fact make an essential contribution to knowledge which science can obtain from no other source. At the same time, we must also ask whether the differences in values make it impossible to 'translate' information about the natural world from one tradition to another. Can oral traditions be helpful to scientists, or are they so rooted in cultural context that they may simply mislead or confuse someone trained in a western rationalist tradition? And if so, is this an area of communication on which we should be focusing?

Some examples indicate the kind of interest which scientists working in the north are beginning to show in oral narrative. A geographer has cited Inuit testimonies recorded in journals of early Arctic travellers which he interprets as reflecting Inuit understanding of isostatic rebound (Spink 1969a). A British historian working with scientists on climatic research has evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of Icelandic traditions as a tool in reconstructing that island's climate (Ogilvie, personal communication, Ogilvie 1978; Bell and Ogilvie 1978). One geophysicist in Alaska is recording traditions associated with sea ice on the north Alaska coast; another hopes to record traditions about volcanic eruptions at Mount Wrangell (Benson, personal communication). A geophysicist working in the St. Elias range states that stories recorded in the southwest Yukon may help to reconstruct events surrounding the most recent emptying of a glacier dammed lake in the area (Clarke, personal communication). A dendochronologist from Columbia University who is reconstructing past climates in northern Canada is interested in Athapaskan traditions about an extremely cold summer sometime in the last century (Jacoby, personal communication). A paleontologist attributes his discovery of extinct mammal bones in part to oral traditions about giant monsters at a particular site (Harrington, personal communication). The director of a major archeological project at Old Crow Flats in the northern Yukon has emphasized the importance of data obtained from oral history (Irving 1975: 1455).

My interest in this began with anthropological interpretations of oral narrative. During the last ten years I have been living in the Yukon Territory and have had opportunities to work with a number of elderly Athapaskan

women who wanted their biographies and their traditional stories recorded. Not surprisingly these accounts all give central importance to landscape, physical environment, fauna, flora, and I would argue that we are dealing here not simply with fanciful recreations of a physical world in mythical form, but with a system of knowledge encoded in particular symbols.

Before we look at some specific examples, it is worth considering both strengths and limitations of oral traditions as 'data' for science and history.

Athapaskan oral tradition has a number of characteristics which make it attractive to scientists and historians as "evidence". Its persistence and conservatism in the Yukon is remarkable. Most aspects of northern Athapaskan culture in this region have changed dramatically in the last century - the intensified fur trade, the Klondike goldrush, the construction of the Alaska Highway, the introduction of government programmes and schools, the attempts to industrialize the north. Yet traditional narratives recorded during the last few years are remarkably similar to those recorded and published in 1883, in 1904, in 1917 (see Krause 1956:197; Swanton 1909, Tales 5, 13, 19, 77, 99, 100; Teit 1917:446, 464). The major innovations are the incorporation into stories of historical events and natural occurrences, precisely those events of interest to scientists and historians.

Oral tradition often contains highly technical information. Anthropologist Robin Ridington argues that while nomadic Athapaskan hunters could not and did not try to transform nature, they were able to control their relationship to it by learning as much as possible about it. He argues that oral tradition is a critical adaptive strategy for sub-arctic hunters, that the conceptual ability to recreate, through language, a snowshoe, a snare or a particular situation for someone who has not experienced it is much more efficient than carrying material encumbrances on one's back. Ultimately, knowledge is power for Athapaskans, just as it is for scientists (Ridington 1982). While this knowledge may be encoded in ways quite different from science (in myth, for example, rather than in mathematical formulae) perhaps scientists should consider Athapaskan concepts as knowledge rather than simply as 'values'.

Oral tradition may also provide detailed observations of natural phenomena over a lifetime and in all seasons; scientists are often limited to short field trips. Such observations are particularly important in an area where

little written documentation is available before the beginning of the last century. With such a shallow time base for their observations, northern scholars may dispute the validity of oral tradition, but they cannot afford to ignore it.

On the other hand, oral tradition has some significant limitations as a source of "evidence" for those writing in a western scientific framework. At least some of these obliquely address our general problem of 'communicating northern values'. Traditions passed on orally begin with very different premises from western science and cannot usually be interpreted out of context. Athapaskan traditions are often recounted in the form of a story: each culture has its own particular literary style which may cause difficulties to a scientist trying to interpret narrative. Subjects may be treated by allusion and symbolism; for example, stories about giant worms have led different archeologists working in the Yukon to conclusions about surging glaciers (Workman 1978: 60), thawing permafrost (de Laguna 1969-70: 19) and location of extinct mammal bones (Harrington 1970). Athapaskan traditions treat time, space and quantitative data very differently from western science, in fact causality and materiality are treated very much as secondary characteristics of the universe. There are also serious problems of translation from Indian languages to English: very few scientists have linguistic training. Furthermore, traditions are often simply not accessible to scientists: Native people are understandably reluctant to discuss traditions unless there is a clear reason for doing so. This again raises the whole question of ethics, values and the relationship between scientists and communities in northern research.

In summary, then, oral tradition is timeless rather than chronological and refers to situations rather than to events. A single tradition cannot be used by itself, but only in combination with other sources, in comparative ways.

In the rest of the time allotted, I would like to indicate some areas of scientific research ongoing in the Yukon - glacier studies, studies of climate, work in geography, biological studies, archeology - and summarize some Athapaskan oral evidence on the same subjects. In this way you can judge for yourselves whether we are not looking at an area of communication which goes beyond 'northern values'.

Again, what I am suggesting here is that oral tradition and science are separate traditions of knowledge, developed in different institutional and cultural settings and passed on quite differently. Each generates different theories about the natural world. Nevertheless, an understanding of oral tradition may provide the scientist with additional data, support for hypotheses, or even new questions, particularly in the whole area of man/land relationships.

1. **Glaciers and Impounded Lakes**

The St. Elias Mountains rise to peaks of 5800 metres and separate the Yukon interior from the Pacific Ocean. In the interior they drop gradually to the Shakwak trench, a 300 km. long valley filled with lakes and floored with glacial deposits (McConnell 1906: 15). Following the Wisconsin glaciation, drainage of this valley to the Pacific was blocked periodically as glacier dammed lakes formed.

The first and largest of these was Glacial Lake Champagne which formed approximately 12,500 B.P. and drained sometime between 9,000 and 7,000 years ago; after that, humans were able to move into the newly drained basins.

A second lake, Recent Lake Alsek, was the largest ice-dammed lake to form in Western North America after the retreat of the Cordilleran ice sheet. It formed when the Lowell glacier surged, blocking the Alsek River at Goatherd Mountain. At its maximum, the ice built up to a height of 200 metres (Clague 1979: 63). When the dam broke in the 1850's, the lake drained in one or two days, discharging its waters through the Alsek River in an enormous flow, comparable to that of the Amazon River (Clarke, unpublished report). Scientists are trying to determine the number of fillings of the lake, and the timing of the most recent fillings; consequently, native traditions about the lake are of considerable interest (Clarke, personal communication).

Oral traditions about a Deluge are almost universal in world literature. Yukon Indians can point to mountain tops where remnants of a raft are said to be visible (McClellan 1975: 74-5). Scientists might well dismiss these traditions because of the seeming universality. However, while no universal flood could have occurred by normal geological processes, floods, plural, are a universal phenomenon and may be related to glacier dammed lakes which followed the last glaciation.

This seems particularly likely for some of the narratives from southwest Yukon. Glaciers in the St. Elias mountains, collectively known as the

Icefield Ranges, are active remnants of the Wisconsin glaciation. The interval which scientists refer to as the Neoglaciation culminated in the mid-nineteenth century and these glaciers have surged in recent if not in living memory (Fig. 1).

The Lowell Glacier is known by the Athapaskan name Naludi or 'fish stop' because its movement across the Alsek River has periodically stopped the migrations of salmon from the Pacific Ocean to the lakes and tributaries of the upper Alsek. A woman born in 1892 explains that Naludi first surged when a young boy from the coastal Tlingit village of Yakutat visited the Alsek and made fun of an Athapaskan shaman because of his balding head. To punish him and his kinsmen the shaman caused the glacier to surge across the river and a huge lake formed behind the dam. Then the shaman broke the dam and the water swept downriver killing all the Yakutat Tlingit camped at the junction of the Tatshenshini and Alsek Rivers. At Yakutat, some years ago, Frederica de Laguna recorded the same story and dated the event at 1852 (de Laguna 1972: 276). (Fig. 2).

Naludi has reportedly surged again several times, most recently just before the Yukon narrator's birth, in her 'grandmother's time' (c. 1890). That summer, some people travelled north to Kluane Lake and others stayed to dry meat on the mountains above present day Haines Junction. Naludi blocked the river and the valley basin flooded in just a few days, killing hundreds of ground squirrels before the dam broke and the lake drained. This is the kind of tradition which is of particular interest to geophysicists (Clarke, personal communication).

There are also narratives about a glacier called Tänshi (Kaskawulsh). Geologists estimate that the Kaskawulsh was in its terminal position as recently as 145 years ago, that it retreated and stopped by 1870, further retreated and stopped in 1939 (Borns and Goldthwaite 1966: 600). A geologist working in this area in 1935 noted in his report that he could not find Indian guides to accompany him into the region of the Steele glacier because they were afraid of "annihilation from floodwaters and crashing ice".

Most pertinent here is independent scientific confirmation of oral tradition. De Laguna reports that Tlingit traditions which may date from 1400 A.D. tell how a village on the shore of Icy Bay was overwhelmed by ice during the Neoglaciation. This is confirmed by archeological and geological evidence, radio-carbon dates and tree ring dates. Lobes of the Malispina Glacier

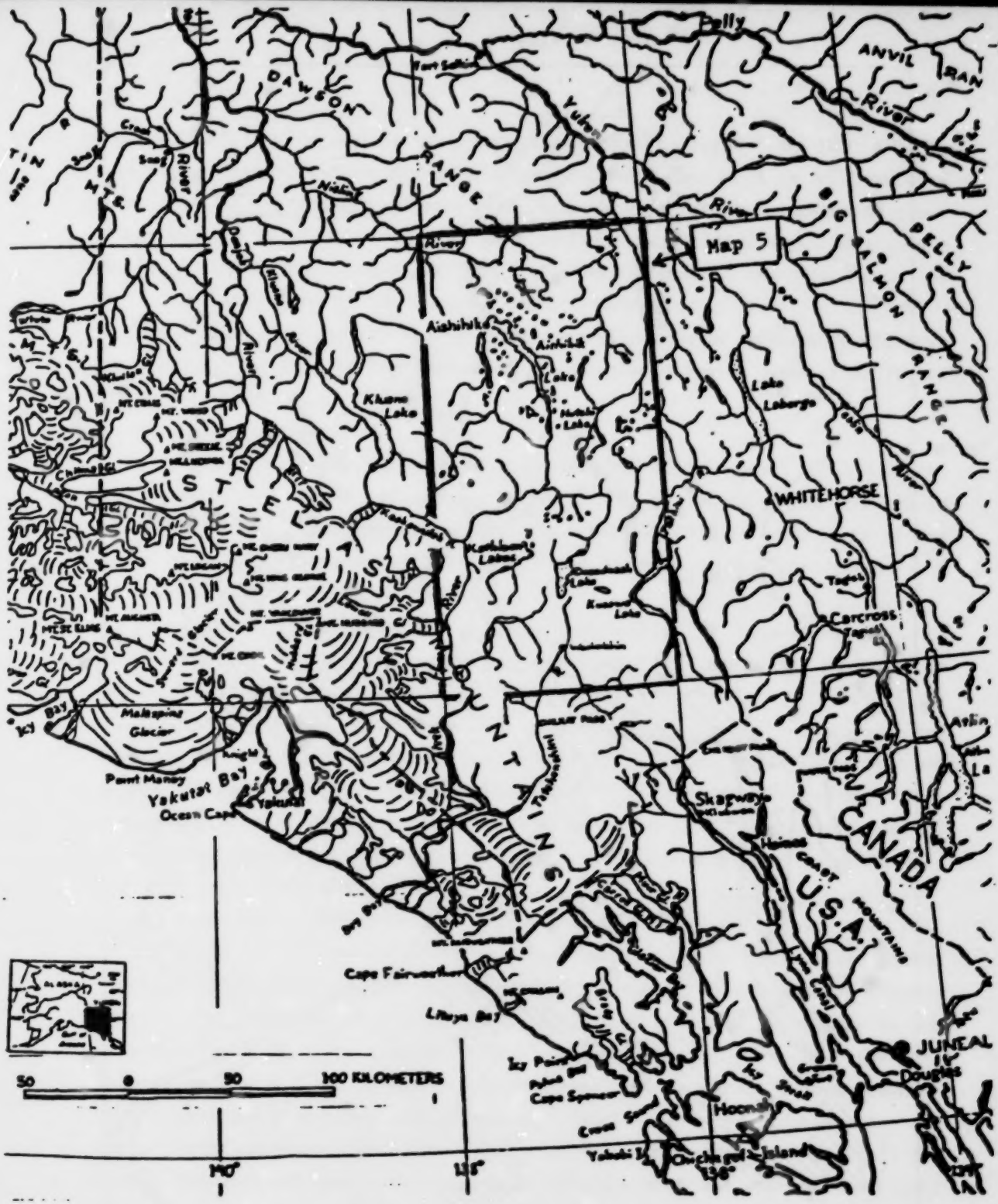

Fig. 1

The research area: south-west Yukon Territory and Gulf Coast of Alaska. (After De Laguna 1972, Map 2).

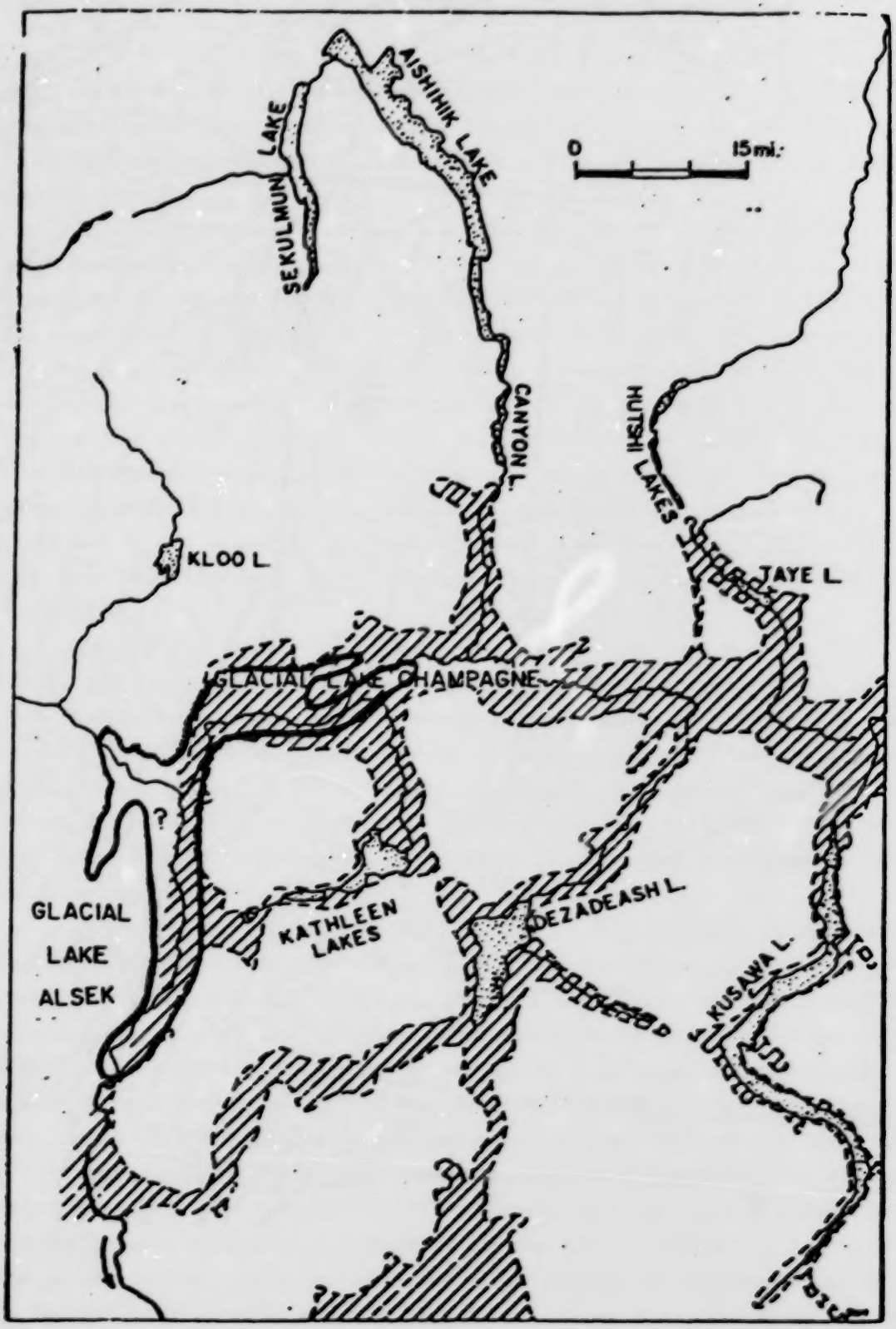

Fig. 2

Maximum extent of Glacial Lake Champagne and Glacial Lake Alsek (After Workman 1978, Fig.6 and Fig.9).

once filled Icy Bay and Yakutat Bay, then began to retreat by 1400 A.D. to positions near or behind present limits. Excavations at this village site show that it was established soon after this date, before trees began to grow; during the Neoglaciation in the 18th century, ice filled both bays again covering the village (de Laguna 1958). The name 'Yakutat' means 'a lagoon (or bay) is already forming' in Eyak, an extinct language.

A full range of traditions associated with glacier movement could give us a clearer picture of the impact of the Neoglaciation on human inhabitants of this region.

2. **Climate Studies**

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in trying to reconstruct arctic and sub-arctic climates during the Neoglaciation period mentioned above. Temperature records begin only in 1930 in most parts of the Canadian Arctic (Barry et al. 1977: 201) and slightly before the turn of the century in Alaska (Hamilton 1965: 106).

A dendroclimatologist at Columbia university has reconstructed June-July temperatures for the northern Yukon based on tree ring chronologies dating to 1550 A.D. He notes that particular years in the mid-nineteenth century show extremely low tree ring growth (Jacoby 1981). Other data for Switzerland and Alaska suggest low growth for similar years (LaMarche and Fritt 1971; Blasing and Fritts 1975, p. 54). Considerable evidence from temperate parts of North America and from Europe suggests that the summer of 1816 - the year after the volcanic eruption of Tamboro - was exceptionally cold (Strommel and Strommel 1979).

Older Native men and women in the central and southern Yukon also tell of an extremely cold period during the last century, when "two winters joined together" and there was no real summer. The imagery in the stories conveys some of the hardship. Young moose were stillborn in spring and froze to the ground. Lakes froze to the bottom and men had to chisel deep into the ice, digging up frozen fish. The snow was not deep, but it formed a hard crust so that people could not see animal tracks. People ate snow in desperation and died. Women gathered stoneberries - Kinnikinick (Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi) for soup. Men were so weak that they could scarcely hunt and when they did kill game they were too weak to carry it home. There were rumours of cannibalism. In the imagery of one woman, "bodies of children were stacked like cordwood".

It is difficult to locate this summer in chronological time. Narrators who discussed it with me suggest that it occurred when their parents were small children (c. 1875). Anthropologist Catharine McClellan heard similar stories in the 1940's and estimated that they referred to the middle of the last century or earlier (personal communication). Bearing in mind these difficulties, we have to ask ourselves whether such testimonies might not assist scientists in determining particular sites for study. Stories do name specific places, particularly lakes. Knowing locations where people gathered during difficult years could perhaps assist scientists looking at the impact of unusually severe winters on human populations during the Neoglaciation.

3. **Geography and Geology**

Indian traditions about landscape, landforms and geology are of interest to geographers and geologists when they provide evidence of detailed observation. One example comes from a Tlingit chief named Kohklux. In 1869, an American scientist, George Davidson, travelled to southeastern Alaska to observe an eclipse. While there, he met Kohklux and learned that he had been involved in a trading party which had raided the Hudson's Bay Company post on the upper Yukon River in 1852. Davidson prevailed on Kohklux to draw a map of his route, marking the mountains, lakes, rivers and camping sites. He later compared this map with the work of surveyors and published a redrawn version of the map, with notes, and with all the Tlingit names given by Kohklux, in 1901 (Davidson 1901). (Fig. 3). Of even greater interest is a copy of the original unedited map which has just been located at the Bancroft Library in California.

Earliest travellers recognized the importance of retaining Native names to assist navigation in unfamiliar territory (Glave 1890: Nov. 22) but with few exceptions leaders of official expeditions replaced Native names with those of scientists and colleagues (see for example Schwatka), a tradition which continues to the present day. Recently research into Native names for geographical features in the Yukon and northern British Columbia has been carried out by the Yukon Native Languages Project. Quite apart from an inventory of names, this work has contributed to an understanding of land use and contemporary changes in landscape. Ironically, although the population of an area like the Yukon has grown in recent decades, actual land use and perceptions of land use have shrunk as new transportation routes and settlement clusters impose constraints. Traditional narrative describes a geography

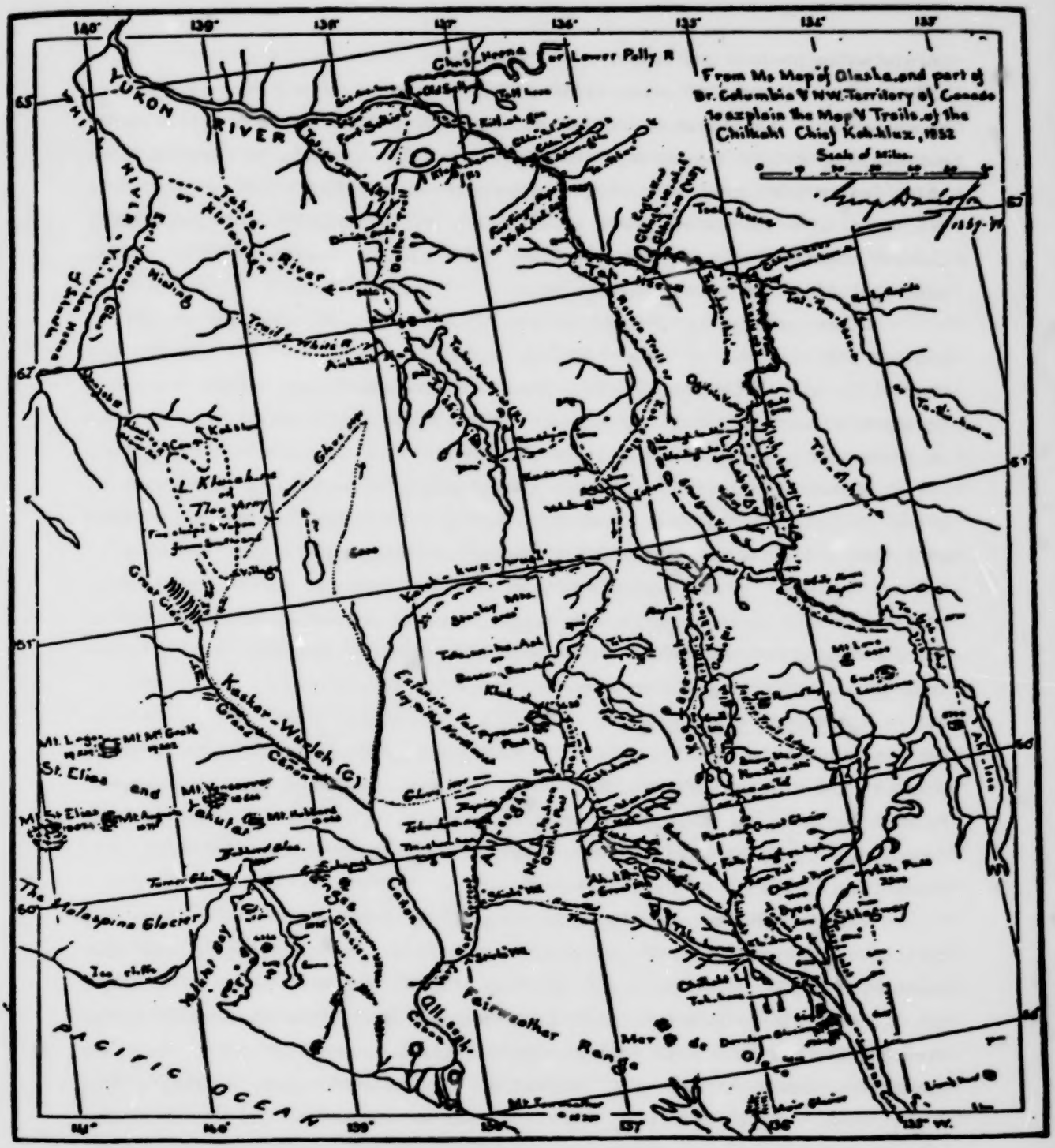

Fig. 3

Map after drawing by Tlingit Chief Kohklux, 1869 (Davidson 1901)

unrelated to present day roads.

Indian reports of minerals are, of course, part of the lore of northern prospectors. Stories about native copper on the White River inspired early expeditions to this remote area (Hayes 1892). The discovery at Bonanza Creek which led to the Klondike goldrush was made by Skookum Jim. The present Anvil lead-zinc mine developed after a discovery by an Indian man, Joe Ladue. Cassiar asbestos mine at Clinton Creek (now closed) developed after a discovery of a Han Indian man, George Wood.

Other geological information of interest to Indians was passed on orally; obsidian in the upper Aishihik valley, red ochre on the Nisling and Donjek Rivers, flint at several places on Kluane Lake, schist for skin scrapers at various locations (Workman 1978: 28). All these items were used in trade with the coastal Tlingit (Workman 1978: 93).

Parenthetically, I would add that these stories have a different interest for students of oral tradition because they provide such a rich source of symbolic literature, a window on perception quite different from that of western science. Such accounts may be of less interest to physical scientists; however, in the north where a small population has lived for centuries the natural environment does have historical, social, economic and intellectual as well as physical dimensions.

4. **Flora and Fauna**

The most important questions facing northern biologists relate to past, present and future interrelationships of man, animals and environment. Paleontologists and biologists have only incomplete knowledge of changing faunal history in the north because the data are only available for relatively short time spans.

Much of the evidence we have comes from oral tradition. Moose and caribou, for example, seem to have shifted their habitats during the last century. Caribou are now largely confined to the northern Yukon while moose are the major large mammal in the south. Yet herds of Stone caribou (Rangifer arcticus stonei) have been seen in historic times around Whitehorse, Carcross (short for 'caribou crossing'), Kluane Lake, and near the upper reaches of the Alsek River. Indian tradition describes them as blackening the ice at Kluane Lake and Aishihik Lake and this is confirmed in the archeological record, though they have not been seen there in recent memory (Workman 1978: 16; McClellan 1875: 108).

Moose, on the other hand, were extremely rare in the southern Yukon during most of the last century, though their appearance in the archeological record and in Tagish myth indicates that this was a temporary fluctuation. In the southeastern Yukon older men reported that people forgot how to hunt moose after they disappeared and had to learn again when they returned, almost a century later (Honigmann 1954: 15). Other reports by men who visited this area in 1896, 1903, and 1911 confirm this (Pike 1896: 89-90; Emmons 1911: 77; Sheldon 1911: 245; McNeish 1957: 52). Biologists working in the southwest Yukon during the 1940's and 1950's report that according to local tradition there were no moose there before this century (Rand 1945: 76-79), and that some residents saw their first moose in 1910 (Cameron 1952: 183). Oral accounts can give us indications about other faunal changes too. Although wood bison are presently unknown in the Yukon, Khaus (bison bison athabaskae) is a figure in Yukon myth. The archeological record confirms the presence of this animal in the southern Yukon, hunted in Holocene times (Workman 1978: 55-59). The oldest men in the southern Yukon told McClellan in the 1940's that bison had been hunted in the extreme eastern Yukon during the last century (McClellan 1975: 120).

Yukon Indians also reported the recent spread of cougars (Felis concolor L.) into the Yukon at about the same time as the building of the Alaska Highway, well before biologists officially accepted their presence in this area. The cougar was already a figure in Indian oral tradition, but was said to have lived earlier only in the Liard River drainage (McClellan 1975: 161 and personal communication).

Similar questions can be raised about historical and present day use of fish. Only indirect evidence is available for the Holocene history of fish in the southwest Yukon and this has been compiled by an archeologist, William Workman (1978: 25, 60-1). The damming of the Alsek must have periodically prevented salmon from ascending that river; the presence of land locked salmon in Kathleen Lake indicated that salmon once ascended the Alsek further than they do today to spawn. A full inventory of fish used in the present and past and recorded and classified by Athapaskan names could provide additional information for fisheries scientists. Work done jointly by a linguist and biologist in northern Quebec, recording Cree names for fish pointed out differences between biologists' and Cree classifications. This work had particular immediacy because some fish have elevated levels of mercury and it was

impossible to issue warnings without knowing names and classifications used by Cree speakers (Berkes and Mackenzie 1978).

Equally valuable would be discussions of plant life. Women's knowledge of plants is detailed and exact - particularly nutritional and medicinal values, and qualities as dyes. Oral traditions contain suggestions about plant history, for example that spruce blight was introduced into the Yukon up the Alsek River in the mid-nineteenth century (McClellan 1975: 96). Indians also have traditions about how burning was used as a technique to extend moose browse, a subject difficult to assess because of severe penalties for setting fires in this century.

Ethnobotanical work undertaken on St. Lawrence Island provides a useful model for scientific research. Conventional wisdom suggests that Alaskan Eskimos were meat eaters who paid little attention to vegetable resources. Yet collaboration by a botanist and anthropologist showed that despite impoverished flora on the island, Eskimos have used at least 17 species for plant food, three for medicines and ten for fuel (Young and Hall 1969).

Similarly, as early as 1923 Speck showed that Algonkian Indians had a complete herpetology of snakes in their language, including both generic and specific classifications, despite the fact that they made no economic use of them (Speck 1923). At Old Crow in the northern Yukon, Laurence Irving recorded names for 91 species of birds in the Kutchin language, noting that the birds named were not just birds used and that naming had social as well as economic purposes (Irving 1958).

5. **Archeology**

A number of Athapaskan traditions in the Yukon concern undocumented events which occurred in the last century, involving aspects of aboriginal trade, travel and warfare. Referring specifically to the nineteenth century trade which dominated Tlingit-Athapaskan relationships, William Workman points out that oral tradition actually contributes more evidence to our understanding of that period of prehistory than does the archeological record. There are traditions about the extensive trade in perishables carried on between the coast and the interior for at least a century before whites arrived; such perishables, of course, do not survive in the archeological record. Clan histories describe complex movements of people between the coast and interior. Feuds and wars which took place in the last century and their longstanding effect on social relationships are recounted. Tales of the

'coming of the first whites' convey some of the cultural disruptions felt around the turn of the century. Traditions refer to major trading centres like Dalton Post, Hutshi, Wellesley Lake - places scarcely mentioned in written records because they were not on routes taken by white travellers.

Archeologists, perhaps more than other scientists working in the north, recognize the importance of oral tradition in reconstructing the past. However, the relative power of the two models of knowledge is still clear. A recent conference on 'Prehistory in the South-West Yukon' was hosted by the Yukon Historical and Museums Association and held in the small northern community of Haines Junction, adjacent to Kluane Park. A number of archeologists were invited to give papers and a number of elders from the Champagne-Aishihik Indian band were also invited to participate. As first one day and then a second wore on and paper after paper was presented, a ninety year old Athapaskan woman, Mrs. Annie Ned, spoke up, pointing out that people here were 'talking from paper' and that she wanted to tell the traditions of trade and travel she had learned from her grandparents. Later she asked "Where do those people come from, outside? They don't tell the same stories as us".

In a very real sense she has captured the essence of my argument here, because all our descriptions of landscape share characteristics of story-telling and the way we define "truth" depends to a large extent on the intellectual tradition in which we are trained.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, it is possible to make some general observations about cultural dimensions of knowledge in the north, and to raise some questions about how a scientific framework might accommodate these different approaches.

I have argued that science and oral tradition provide two distinct approaches to knowledge, developed in two different institutional settings and based on markedly different premises. One combines the written contributions of different individuals: each generation of students can consult vast libraries and build on past theories. The other is more selective: what survives is the collective social thinking of the group rather than discrete individual contributions.

Members of each tradition are more likely to perceive the limitations of the other and here is where we see the real interplay of 'values'. For example, scientists might consider a particular environmental problem inductively by looking at objective empirical facts which can be distinguished from a general background of landscape. Indians and Inuit on the other hand may see empirical and non-empirical phenomena as inextricably interwoven (Arima 1976; Brody 1976; Burch 1971). Scientists might well consider Athapaskan tradition to be full of fantastic imaginative episodes, at best a sort of 'primitive science' or 'symbolic literature'. Athapaskans, on the other hand, might consider the scientist to be culturally impoverished because his view encompasses only half of reality (Irving 1958; Burch 1971). Some scientists might argue that members of a non-industrial society are 'prisoners of tradition' whereas science encourages creative exploration of ideas. Others, like Kuhn, have observed that science is a human activity like any other and that scientists too are socialized to work within limited parameters (Kuhn 1962).

The arguments can be made, then, that oral tradition and science are each capable of contributing to an overall field of knowledge. Knowledge embedded in oral tradition certainly has cultural value and may well have scientific value. But are scientists really likely to take such an argument seriously? The fact is that scientific knowledge has a power in our society and oral tradition will never have. Furthermore, as long as scientists are the ones clearly in control of research in the north even attempts to learn from Indian and Inuit elders before "it is too late" may be seen as exploitative.

I would suggest that, if taken seriously, oral tradition could provide an ideal focus for shifting conventional power relationships in northern research in two ways. In the first place, local people could be involved in many scientific studies from the very beginning, including having a say in the kinds of questions which should be asked and the kinds of research which should be done. Secondly, scientists working in the north should give serious consideration to ways in which they might provide real training in specific skills for Native people who want to work in various scientific fields. Scientists prefer to take their students north for summer projects, and while they may hire a Native person in a token position, it is the students, not the Native person who get the training, the work experience and the expanding

options for employment. The fact that there are few Indian and Inuit scientists is regrettable both for northern residents and for the sciences.

While such involvement may well slow the pace of a particular research project, it goes some distance toward narrowing the gap between local people and 'outside experts'. In the long run this is going to have to happen. Science is funded by the public purse; it takes place in a social context, and this point is being made more and more frequently in a number of ways.

What are the benefits for northern research?

Interdisciplinary co-operation is playing a significant role in northern research. This could lead to theoretical model building in the north for both past and future environments, a subject of interest to both scientists and northern Native populations. A core of trained, interested, involved local people could ultimately assist this process.

Some scientists argue that the north provides an ideal setting for studies of long term physical and social change since the time of the last glaciation. If a model can be developed for the north, using data from ethnography, oral history, climatology, archeology, paleontology, linguistics, it might be applied to more complex ecosystems elsewhere (Burch 1979: 73).

Model building also occurs in the study of contemporary environments. At the present time, there is great concern about the impact of industrial development on northern ecology, yet northern biologists, zoologists and other life scientists have only relatively short chronologies on which to build their predictions and management plans. In the Yukon, it is still possible to record oral traditions about a range of phenomena being studied by scientists.

In summary, then, we have been talking about the interplay of values and knowledge. The very language we use ('our knowledge, their values') is problematic. Knowledge implies certain absolutes; values suggest relativity. Some scientists have shown interest in indigenous traditions of knowledge associated with their work. These traditions may contain unique information about the north, where other documentary sources are lacking. I hope that this paper has presented some coherent arguments for collaboration between scientists and northern residents. Such collaboration might broaden both our understanding of natural history in the sub-arctic, and our understanding of the social context of northern scientific research.

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THE NORTH: UTILITARIAN CONSCIENCE OF THE SOUTH?

(A parallel between science, technology and society)*

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The conditions of northern research have changed considerably over the last twenty years or so. In the 1970s particularly, institutional factors came into play which modified and affected the context and the later evolution of research in the human sciences. At the same time, a fruitful interaction was going on between researchers and representatives of native peoples, as both groups were concerned with analyzing events in the light of political considerations. During the same period there emerged institutions which created needed links between the state and northern societies. For example, in Quebec, organizations such as Makivik Corporation, the Grand Council of the Cree, and Le Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais - whose headquarters are located outside the North - consecrate, in varying degrees, a new bureaucratic phenomenon. All of this accounts for a metamorphosis which has irrevocably altered the relationships between the native peoples and the state; it has also created the conditions for the emergence of a new political force which cannot be ignored[1].

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[1] See P. Désy, "Pratique et discours idéologique" in Nations amérindiennes au Canada/Native Peoples in Canada, Culture, vol. III, no. 2. Société canadienne d'ethnologie, Montréal, 1982.
Note: I do not intend to examine here the specific relationship between native societies and the state, since several authors have already studied this question from different angles. The reader is referred to their works. Among others see:
S. Bouchard, I. Larusic et al. Negociating a Way of Life, DINA, 1979 (tr. fr.); P. Charest "Recherches anthropologiques et contexte politique en milieu attikamek et montagnais", in Culture, op. cit., 1982; H. Feit, "Restructuring Linkages between James Bay Cree and the State", Actes du colloque sur les sociétés de chasseurs-cueilleurs, Université Laval, 1980; A. Tanner, "Hunters and the State", ibid.; E. Leacock & R. Lee, ed., Politics and History in band societies, Cambridge University Press & Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982; S. Weaver, Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70. U.T.P., 1981.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY

Idealism in northern science?

In the years preceding the 1970s, the North seemed to be a privileged field of research in the human sciences for North American and European scientists. The theory of cultural change set forth by Julian Steward in 1955, in part on the basis of earlier work by Eleanor Leacock (1954), was for a time, to influence the publications devoted to hunter-gatherer societies[2]. Synchronic approaches centered on themes such as interethnic relations and acculturation; diachronic studies were largely concerned with territorial or ethnohistorical issues. Although quite understandably ignorant of the events which were to transform the living conditions of certain northern populations, researchers of this period were aware of the cultural and economic turmoil confronting these peoples. Even so, none was so imprudent as to forecast inescapable doom[3].

For those who lived in the North during this period, these assertions will seem a statement of the obvious. Yet in point of fact, the period was a disastrous one in terms of the future. Amerindian communities faced an economic dead-end: for instance how could hunters maintain indefinitely the same economic relationships with the Hudson's Bay Company, with its well-known debit-credit cycle[4]? Or to take an example from Quebec, with the Ministère des Chasse et Pêche which, more often than not, delegated its responsibility to game wardens for setting quotas for hunters. How long would this status quo

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[2] See, for example, Harvey Feit's article "The future of hunters within nation-states: anthropology and the James Bay Cree", Leacock & Lee ed., op. cit., 1982, pp. 373-411.

[3] In my doctoral dissertation I refused to write a conclusion for the following reason: although I could not predict the future, I knew instinctively that the present situation could not last without some major event occurring to change it.

[4] See P. Désy, "Les Indiens du Nouveau-Québec", in De l'ethnocide, 10/18, Plon, Paris, 1972, pp. 259-278.

last? And what would become of the other communities which, several years earlier, had ended such production relationships and were now experiencing conditions which undermined the very structure of their lives? To appreciate the state of things which faced the observer of that time, the reader can turn to two examples. The first is that of Fort George on James Bay, where the allocation of the hunting territories enabled groups of hunters, as a whole, to exploit the environment. However, because the population of fur-bearing animals follows a cycle which makes it difficult to supply furs regularly through the season, most of the Indians whose lands were close to the sea hunted their territories intermittently, unlike those who hunted regularly further back in the hinterland, though they did not have the assurance of bringing back a rich harvest of furs. The second example concerns Lake John, near Schefferville, where the population was composed of Montagnais and Naskapi. Beginning in the 1950s and until 1972 (when the major part of the settlement was moved to the new reservation of Matemekush), this village, located on Crown lands, had a temporary status. The effects of this were fairly obvious, at least insofar as the housing, built from odds and ends, was concerned. In 1972, it occurred to the Department of Indian Affairs to move the entire population to another reservation located within the municipal boundaries of Schefferville (a town controlled by Iron Ore Company of Canada). Had the Department given thought to the implications behind such a change? Now that Schefferville is in the process of becoming a ghost town and the Naskapi, who are a signing party to the Convention de la baie James et du Nord-Ouest québécois, have left for a village of their choice, the question becomes pressing.

For a long time, governments concerned themselves only slightly with northern societies, leaving it to a few local civil servants to establish connections with the inhabitants of the communities. These civil servants behaved in a manner that was both paternalistic and colonialistic; sheer ignorance often governed their behaviour. Ill-prepared for their responsibilities, unaware of living conditions in the North, they saw Indians in the light of the political destiny which the state had assigned to them: integration or disappearance[5]. As for the missionaries, their role remained cast

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[5] The article devoted by R.W. Dunning to this subject remains accurate in its essence: "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada". Human Organization, vol. 18, No. 3, 1958, pp. 117-122.

in history and influenced by the - thwarted - designs of the nineteenth century. Locally, power struggles most often revolved around the number of Anglican and Catholic proselytes.

When there occur unforeseeable events whose shape is quite different from what was expected, the prism of history gets distorted. Today it is possible, indeed easy, to analyze what happened and to reject or criticize the writings of researchers of the day, without taking into account the history of ideas. However, what can now be explained a contrario and a posteriori, no researcher could have foreseen a priori. Here, of course, come to mind the gigantic technological projects financed by multinational firms. The carrying out of these projects (e.g., dams to harness James Bay hydro-electric power) or the formulation of plans to do so (e.g., the Mackenzie Valley pipeline) has had the effect of upsetting the internal structure of northern societies and, paradoxically, of creating conditions for the emergence of a bureaucratic and political infrastructure. No soothsayer, even one of Kafka-like prescience, could have foreseen all this[6].

From this point of view, hypotheses about cultural change or levels of acculturation and disintegration could no longer have the same meaning. At the same time as the teleological policy of the state was being modified in the light of reactions to the publication of the White Paper (1969), which had

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[6] In retrospect one is reminded of "The Great Wall of China". Kafka's short story is not only rich in symbolism but carries ideological overtones as well, inasmuch as he criticizes neo-positivism in this text. There is one difference, though, for the purposes of our comparison here: Kafka's Nomads of the North become Sedentaries of the Canadian South. Let us quote a few passages:
"Our little town is hardly close to the frontier, let it be said. The distance involved is so great that surely no one from our place has ever gone there: so many high desert plateaux, so many vast plains to cross! So it is strange, and still astonishing to me, to see us in our little town acquiesce so peacefully to all the measures taken in the Capital. Our administration hasn't changed, the most important civil servants still come from the Capital; those of middle ranks, if not from there, at least from outside, and the lowest level, from the village.
[...] It's impossible to understand how they penetrated so far... Meanwhile, they are there; it seems that each morning sees their number grow...Converse with them, impossible! They don't even know our language...Whatever they need, they take...One can't accuse them of violence--because we leave them whatever they put their hand on and withdraw." (Translated from the fragments published in the French edition: La Muraille de Chine, Gallimard, Paris, 1960.)

revealed the commitments of the native organizations for the outside world to see, several factors were creating conditions for a new direction among northern communities. Land claims from one end of the country to the other, the burden of administrative tasks, the growing bureaucratization within associations, the building of new villages, the guarantee of minimum wages for hunters who were signatories to the James Bay agreement, etc.: all these diverse factors give evidence of a profound change whose implications have yet to be understood. On the other hand, in those regions where processess such as the above did not take place, there occurred a degradation of cultural traditions with no visible signs of ensuing benefits. The case of Grassy Narrows, in Ontario, is eloquent in this respect. Following a federal government decision, the village of Grassy Narrows was relocated near the mercury-polluted English-Wabigoon River. The remarkable study of this case by Anastasia M. Shkilnyk is sufficient to convince one of the magnitude of the human disaster visited on this reserve[7].

The ethnological discourse lato sensu and the ethnographic description stricto sensu, we suggest, have been shaped by such events and concrete facts. It must be said clearly, however, that the anthropologist in the field during the 1950s and 1960s - even though previously politicized - did not enjoy conditions which would have made it possible for him to identify and situate himself in relation to a specific political discourse. On the contrary, more often than not he or she had to keep silent: numerous examples could be cited but this is not the place to do so. Nevertheless, what was true yesterday is not necessarily the case today. Thus, the decade of the 1970s, which was marked at various stages by changes of an economic nature, witnessed the emergence of a new phenomenon; namely, "applied" anthropology--to mention that discipline. Nowadays, most researchers in the North choose work consistent with requirements dictated by the native communities; they often become consultants for band councils. Hired by the associations which subsidize them to perform research on specific topics, they are sometimes prevented, for high-minded reasons, from publishing their findings. Indeed, if their works were to be made public, they could be used by governments for purposes altogether different from those intended by the associations. Today, a scientist must obtain the authorization of the band council, or of the association

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[7] "Government Indian Policy and Its Impact on Community Life: A Case Study of the Relocation of the Grassy Narrows Band", ms., DINA, 1981, Ottawa.

which represents it, before undertaking research in a community. In other cases, he is retained as a consultant by the association or the band council. As a privileged go-between, he serves to link the world of outside researchers with those whom he represents. Given all this, independent research - no doubt the most appealing to some - must yield place to institutionalized research, the results of which will be applicable to specified ends. Under the present circumstances, it is impossible for the two types of research to co-exist: they are simply incompatible. However interesting this new northern anthropology may be, it has nevertheless displaced the more classical and individual anthropology. No doubt the latter did not play its role well, and it had to yield naturally to new constraints and specific situations. The question must be raised first of all whether, notwithstanding the excellent work which it has generated, the "new" anthropology does not fit into a broader problematic, the basic givens of which necessarily escape its grasp. Does it play, to some extent, a utilitarian role which is so precise and so well-defined as to make it part of a whole, that is to say of a purpose, whose scope and whose extent it cannot yet apprehend? Consider the lot which has been reserved in recent times for university centres of northern studies, which were flourishing or filled with promise in the 1960s, and staffed with researchers reputed for their seriousness, but which are literally in the process of breaking up today. How is it that some have modified their initial course to the point of becoming mere shadows of their former selves (e.g. Centre d'études nordiques, Université Laval)? How is it that others are threatened with being shut down (e.g. Centre for Northern Studies and Research, McGill University)? Whatever the reason, this scandalous situation can only be understood in terms of a broader frame of reference. At the very least, one ought to ask how it is that our state-subsidized universities are allowed to close down or let drift institutions which are necessary in a country where northern space competes increasingly with southern space. For instance, to what extent is Soviet policy towards Eastern and Far-Eastern Siberia applied more coherently than ours? We know that populations who were nomadic in the past have become sedentary or specialized in the techniques of transhumance. But we know also, in this latter respect, that the herds of Siberian reindeer, domesticated or wild, outnumber infinitely the caribou herds of the Canadian North- a revealing example, among others, of the differences between two circumpolar regions. A comparison between these two regions would certainly be enlightening.

In the final reckoning, it could well be judged that, for a time, centres of northern studies served purposes of prestige. Once they were judged to be no longer necessary, they could easily be closed or mothballed. After all, there are alternatives: researchers employed by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, by the private and/or state sector (e.g. Hydro-Quebec, S.E.B.J., etc.), consultants to Amerindian associations, and so on, should be able to carry on the work. It would seem that the state regards the university system (even as modernized in comparison with the classical tradition, since the introduction and ever-increasing teaching of scientific and technical disciplines) as shaped by an outworn cultural tradition. Indeed, in the bureaucratic-technocratic view of the world, the vocation of the educational system is not to raise the overall cultural level of the population, but rather to give training in narrowly specified skills needed to meet the ever-expanding requirements of production. University training geared to the requirements of specialized functions, although well advanced, has not progressed far enough. This point of view leads to the conception of an altogether different scientific and technological system, one where, for example, research and the training of researchers would take place in research centres located in industry, rather than in universities, depriving the latter of their bases of legitimacy.

In conclusion, as economic conditions changed in the North, so have the conditions of northern research. As a result, idealism in northern science appears to be increasingly subjected to challenge from the factors which imperil the presumed independence of the field. The comparison between research before and after 1970 points the way to still other levels of interpretation and analysis. One might consider, for example, northern societies as a whole, as distinct from southern societies, and the deep gulf which separates the two. From this perspective, we might raise the following question: does not the real problem rest in the fact that the North is the utilitarian conscience of the South[8]?

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[8] To borrow an expression from Marshall Sahlins in Culture and Practical Reason, U.C.P., 1976 (Au coeur des sociétés. Raison utilitaire et raison culturelle. Gallimard, Paris, 1980).

Real efficiency, symbolic efficiency

At this point it should be noted that while, for good or ill, the conditions of research on northern issues have undergone a metamorphosis, the infrastructure of northern societies has been modified without any effect on southern societies: indeed, nothing that happens in the North really concerns them. In what follows we will discuss the implications of this state of inter-ethnic and inter-cultural imbalance. At the same time, we will examine the following paradox: at a time when networks of modern communications between the North and the South are being put into place, no effort is being made to modify inter-ethnic relations between the societies which inhabit these two distinct areas. How can such a phenomenon be explained? The answer is no doubt to be found in the lack of congruence between science, technology and society, and in the impossibility of finding common terms to relate these three conceptual levels. These technological and scientific networks, which provide continuous links between North and South, keep human networks out of sight. The resulting split perpetuates the image southerners have of northerners, a primitive and stereotyped image if ever there was one.

Experience and theory show that northern societies cannot drift from their geographic domain and their cultural space without endangering their originality. In the 1960s, it seemed that northern societies were prisoners of a system which enclosed and segregated them. The course of history seemed to destine them to either integration or disappearance. In fact, however, subsequent events proved otherwise: in a number of specific instances, these societies have succeeded in avoiding the traps laid down by the state as part of its multi-pronged strategy of territorial standardization[9]. In this regard it should be noted that despite the intrusion of alien elements over time, northern societies are still characterized by a number of roughly identical traditional features: social structure, economic activities linked to hunting

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[9] We have in mind in particular the inhabitants of the Northwest Territories and Yukon.

and gathering, and religious activities. Northern societies continue to be governed - even though if in some cases it is only at the symbolic level - by these institutions, institutions that lose all meaning outside the realm of their origin. On this score, northern societies make patterned choices according to their elective affinities, despite their isolation from each other. Looked at this way, they form an environment whose potential autonomy cannot be denied.

Beginning in the 1970s, tightly-knit bureaucratic, scientific and technological networks were built between the North and the South. They were put to work as an elitist system with the notion of progress central to all their activities. However, the manner in which this was accomplished did not merely leave untouched the most important matrix to be understood, that of human relationships; rather, it precluded the very possibility of understanding it as what Mauss calls a "total social fact". It is as though northern science itself has come to be ruled by the ideology of progress, this ideology being seen as an integral (indeed the pre-eminent) part of the creative process. Under a guise of apparent objectivity, it has simply been forgotten that the North might not exist merely to satisfy the economic needs of the South, but rather as an autonomous region. As a result, what southern societies see in the North is defined in terms of progress, not in terms of a social and cultural project.

In this perspective, the conditions of inter-ethnic relations are laid down by the state at the outset; the state operates at the level of real efficiency, that is to say at the level of what is tangible. In other words, the knowledge to be drawn from the North is a utilitarian one, devoid of any symbolic structure. In the eyes of the state, the North belongs above all to a system of relationships between ends and means.

The non-existence of cultural communication between ethnic groups becomes understandable if we examine the links between science, technology and society as these are now articulated. At present, the social inadequacy of the communications system is assessed from a technocratic and bureaucratic point of view. Indeed, in this particular way of seeing things, the vocation

of the present system is not to raise the cultural level of the population but to develop skills defined strictly in relation to the requisites of economic expansion and increased productivity. Science and technology which, since the Renaissance, had been defined by man as instruments of dominion over nature, seem to have now emancipated themselves from society; that is to say their development escapes society's rule. Should we not ask whether the state, in setting up modern networks of communication, has not become dependent upon a certain ideology of scientific progress?

Some might question whether it is possible to relate cultural and technological facts in common terms. But did not the problems of organization and communication between the North and the South arise specifically from the requirements of technological development in the 1970s rather than from purely cultural requirements and humanistic considerations? The questions which can legitimately be asked, we believe, derive from the central and sacrosanct notion of growth - both as formulated and as it has so far been challenged - which has been invoked to justify the sacrificing of populations and the destruction of territories.

In short, instead of helping to establish balanced and dynamic cultural configurations, the exploitation of scientific and technological knowledge has served more often to destroy them. Our society aims for ever increasing technological development; it forgets that its members have not always acquired the cultural means needed to make sense of the society in which they live. Science and technology have the property of infiltrating day-to-day experience and of marking all its features indelibly: personal experience, industrial development, mores, religious beliefs, etc. Our society has become technocratic to the point that fundamental aspects of living are affected without it being possible to recognize the fact. Along these lines, the hunter-gatherer peoples give cause for reflection. Far from enduring traditional techniques (τέχνη : arts and crafts), they integrate them into their daily lives, to the point of bestowing upon them a sacred dimension. In a sense, there is scarcely any pre-eminence of the object over the human, or conversely. That is to say that techniques are never stripped of their cultural dimension, hence the principle of <u>symbolic efficiency</u>. They are literally incorporated into the language of myths and cosmological thought, and they are even used to mediate between terrestrial and supra-terrestrial powers.

The progress of science and technology underlies the development of the apparatus of the state and shapes the social structure in which people live. Any reflection about science, technology and society inevitably runs into the problem of relations between them, either to note the action of science and technology on society or, conversely, to note the action of society on science and technology. In the final analysis, such reflection leads inevitably to a critique of the present system of inter-ethnic relations, however it is conceived.

Historical memory and collective memory

Is it possible, in our society, to separate technological exploitation from social contingencies? We may well ask also whether our educational system does not encourage the denial of the phenomenon of ethnicity to the point of creating conditions ideal for the systematization of ethnocentrism. In this case, ethnocentrism impregnates the mentality of our social institutions, and provides reasons for denying the reality and truth of difference. This in turn gives rise to a neither explicitly expressed nor openly admitted compulsion to suppress the other as an Other[10]. It is important here not to confuse the concept of ethnocentrism and that of ethnocide. Whereas the latter refers to the cultural death of minorities, the former is by contrast a virtually universal notion that refers primarily to the principle of a given peoples' identity; when systematized, however, it becomes dangerous and can lead to ethnocide. Unlike ethnocentrism, ethnocide is a fluid concept first applied to Indian societies of South America in protest against their cultural death, as often as not associated with their

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[10] See P. Désy, op. cit., 1972, p. 277. The truth of this assertion can be verified at the level of university teaching. Over and above the fact that, so as to be able to offer courses on Amerindian cultures it was necessary to wage a powerful--and ongoing--struggle to overcome the objection that "no one is interested", students--in large numbers--belong to that class of youths who, more often than not buoyed by an inadequate education in the humanities, enrol in order to study a subject about which no one had previously spoken to them.

physical death, or genocide[11]. Applied to Canada, nowadays, the notion of ethnocide has meaning only if looked at in the light of political reality and historical evolution. From this point of view, this concept would seem to belong less and less to anthropological discourse, which it is bound to escape, than to Amerindian discourse, which is by definition more capable of describing the causes and effects on its own social formations.

Whereas northern science continues to be the preserve of an elite, the rest of society remains remarkably ignorant of the situation. Outside the institutional paths previously mentioned, outside the technological and bureaucratic spheres accessible to every citizen (one can even have gone to the North, on occasion, without as a result acquiring knowledge in the literal sense of the word), there is little creative space left for original cultural currents to be generated. In other words, the inhabitant of the southern regions has no significant reference points in northern culture; on the contrary his perceptions find their wellsprings in conventional wisdom and stereotypes belonging to the collective memory. That these perceptions are clear and to varying degrees, complex, in no way alters their etiology.

The distinction between historical and collective memory can help to understand how the perception of the northern realm varies according to the vantage point of the observer. Whereas historical memory contains rigorously verified facts, the knowledge of which is the preserve of a coterie of intellectuals, collective memory is another matter. To quote Claude Lefort:

> "[It] takes form within, and at meeting points of, a number of groups who recall from the past only that which suits their current representation of the present. It is shaped in our day, ever more insistently by that small group which has at its disposal the wherewithal to

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[11] For a critical definition of ethnocide, the reader can consult P. Clastres, "De l'ethnocide", in Recherches d'anthropologie politique, Editions du Sueil, Paris, 1980.

> disseminate its representations - political leaders whose declarations are replete with reminiscences uttered to give credibility to a given tradition, intellectuals concerned with presenting an edifying past, little and great manipulators of the media, clever enough to let through only that which pleases the masters of the hour"[12].

And what of university researchers who are busy carving the territory of the North into personal or institutional fiefdoms for their exclusive scrutiny? We have seen how this apportionment was encouraged by universities concerned with collecting large subsidies. It cannot be denied that it was carried out in an institutionalized fashion at a given moment of rapprochement between scientific and technological knowledge. At the same time those researchers who had the bad manners to stray from the prescribed wards risked condemnation.

The opposition between historical and collective memory breeds its own contradictions: thus, while there is an organized and highly scientific intellectual output on the North, there exists at the same time an intellectual output which relies upon discursive forms of repetition. It is as if the North, which is a privileged territory in one instance, can also be picked over for purposes of trivialization in the other. Unfortunately, the collective memory, being exempt neither from the constraints of fashion nor the pressure to comply with it, turns most often to this second form of intellectual production. In other words, this means that if one must speak about the North, one does so, but in such a manner as to conceal reality and disguise the facts in a certain way: thus, the very number of approaches, the very multiplicity of impressions, and the very abundance of declarations can paradoxically end up by discouraging all desire to know.

In contrast, what can vaguely be defined as a current of sympathy toward native peoples belongs to another order of ideas. This current, when

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[12] "Une autre révolution", Libre, no. I, Payot, Paris, 1977, pp. 86-87.

it exists, is important if only because it calls government decisions into question. In the case of the Russell Tribunal in Amsterdam and the Geneva conferences, for example, Canada was suspected and even accused of using methods she is the first to condemn in others. We find manifestation of this "sympathy" on the national level as well. Even so, on the local level, every time that a Euro-Canadian community is placed in contact with an Amerindian community, the hypothesis of sympathy seems fragile. Indeed, the very closeness of the two types of communities causes tensions and rivalries, and gives rise to acts of violence, from which many of those who do not live in situations of this kind believe themselves immune. If certain cities such as Kenora, Regina or Winnipeg, to cite only those, are representative of this state of affairs, the cities further to the north that were built for purposes of exploitation, give even stronger evidence. Schefferville, where a social microcosm of the south was created from which the native population was excluded, is a good example. In Quebec where, in the manner of Pangloss, some like to entertain the illusion that "all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds", the still recent events of Restigouche and Akwesasne should serve as eye-openers. To speak of Quebec, so long as the question of national identity informed the speech of our politicians, autochtonous peoples remained invisible at the level of political discourse. Yet now that their claims are heard in high places--because the information at long last gets through, not because the claims are new--it seems that native peoples can serve equally well to question this identity or justify it. An opportunity is thus provided to institutionalize a social obligation: the obligation of sympathizing with the Amerindian cause, although hardly a more enlightened obligation for all that. This obligatory sympathy can serve as a way of hammering out a comfortable national conscience. Obviously this change in attitude is linked with political-historical circumstances; however, the conditions under which the collective memory continues to take shape have in no way been altered.

Some may object that our position is pessimistic and that "things have changed a great deal". To this, we could respond that "the more things change, the more they remain the same". The knowledge that is drawn from the North and from its societies is basically the same as that which prevailed over twenty years ago. Transformations which seem radical at the level of

information and publications influence historical memory more than they influence collective memory.

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In the final analysis, relations between the North and the South are determined less by geographical than by social distance. Indeed, the concept of geographical distance is only applicable to a certain sphere as we saw in regard to the instrumentation of technological and bureaucratic knowledge. On the other hand, the concept of social distance opens quite different horizons: the problem, for instance, of how inter-ethnic relations are reproduced cannot be understood without reference to social, as opposed to geographical distance. In this light, northern societies have every reason to retain their originality rather than to emulate their neighbours to the South. It is no doubt in this sense that it will be possible to interpret the idea of autonomous northern provinces.

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SHAMANISM, RELIGIOUS CHANGE AND REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS IN THE NORTH

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TRADITIONAL SHAMANISM

Shamanism is probably the oldest form of religion. We have evidence of it at least as far back as the Upper Paleolithic over 50,000 years ago and perhaps back to Neanderthal humans (Homo sapiens neanderthalensis) 100,000 years ago. Forms of shamanism have a worldwide distribution, but classic shamanism crystallized in Siberia and occurs across the Arctic/Subarctic from Siberia to Greenland. It is from the Siberian Tungus that the word "shaman" derives.

Unfortunately in some literature (e.g., Bogoras 1907; Boyer 1961a, b, but compare 1964 and Boyer and others 1964; Kroeber 1952) shamans have been described as megalomaniacs subordinating people by fear, schizophrenics, magicians, or frauds and tricksters. None of these characterizations is true. Shamans on the whole were intelligent, able, mentally normal and respected members of their societies who, because of their abilities, were highly respected, though sometimes held in awe (e.g., Torrey 1974; Murphy 1964; Kluckhohn and Leighton 1956; Eliade 1964; Opler 1959; Murdock 1965).

One of the basic assumptions of shamanism in North and South America and Siberia is that there are at least two realities. There is Ordinary, Sensory Reality in which we normally function each day. In addition there is Non-Ordinary, Clairvoyant, or Shamanic Reality into which one can move by altered states of consciousness. In a non-ordinary reality, time and space as we know them are changed into a "nowness". Shamans are able to move between these states of reality at will.

The discussion which follows is a general synthesis of North American shamanism rather than a description of shamanism among one specific society.In shamanism, the world is peopled by spirits in non-ordinary reality.

Everything in ordinary reality, either animate or inanimate, has a living force within it which is manifest in non-ordinary reality. So a shaman may keep a rock, or feathers, or a bone, or a fragment of animal skin, or other objects as amulets in a power bundle. While these are merely mundane things in ordinary reality, they are imbued with specific powers in non-ordinary reality. The shaman is able to marshall the support and aid of some of these spirits, particularly animals, so that they become his helping spirits. These come to his assistance in his shamanic activities which include healing, acquiring knowledge and power, divining and clairvoyance.

Others are able to perform some of the same functions as shamans, but there are at least three criteria that distinguish shamans from ordinary people or other types of religious or medical practitioners.

1) Magical flight or soul journey. The shaman, with the aid of his animal-familiar, is able to travel in spirit to other areas within this world and other worlds. In so doing, he sees visions, may predict future occurrences, rescues the lost soul of a sick person, escorts the dead to their new home, and consults with universal powers and brings back knowledge to his people.

2) A shaman can enter possession state. Sometimes spirits speak through him, but he never totally relinquishes control of his body to these spirits (in contrast to some other types of possession states).

3) The shaman masters the control of this trance. He determines when he will go into trance and when he will return from it. He can remember all that has transpired during the trance--places travelled, things seen or experienced. Frequently he is able to stay in contact with his people remaining in ordinary reality while he is also in trance experiencing non-ordinary reality. There is also a cultural orientation to the trance. Trance (non-ordinary reality) is entered for social reasons, usually for the benefit of his community (Peters and Price-Williams 1980). It is important to stress one aspect: the shaman, not the spirits, is always in control.

One of the most important functions of a shaman is diagnosis and healing with the aid of his spirits in non-ordinary reality. In this reality he touches the patient, and may use a sucking technique to extract a foreign object which was sent into the patient causing the illness.

In many non-western cultures, people did not seem to have had a concept of "sin" in the sense Christians use it today. Rather there was a concept of

harmony and equilibrium as the ideal condition of the world; breaches of taboo created disharmony. Contagion or contamination were allied concepts. A taboo broken might cause harm both to the individual who broke it and to his community, because it brought two objects or persons into contact so that one contaminated the other. Among many Inuit, land mammals and sea mammals should not be eaten at the same time; a woman should not touch caribou at certain times of the year; a woman should not have sexual relations during menstruation. If such taboos were broken they polluted Sedna, the spirit who controlled the animals, and she would withhold animals from the people. Breaking of taboos also could result in sickness. To cure the person or return game, the shaman, after a journey to the underworld in trance, encouraged the individual to confess all breaches of taboo before the community. The community would then forgive the person, and game would return or the healing would be effected (e.g., Rasmussen 1929). This element of confession and forgiveness is significant for the later discussion of revitalization movements and missionization in the Arctic/Subarctic.

Thus, the universe of pre-contact shamanic societies throughout the world was peopled with spirits who could harm but could also act as helping spirits. The religious practitioner was a shaman who controlled power and therefore spirit helpers. Illness and misfortune were caused by broken taboos which had no real relation to a moral order; rather taboo breaches were usually actions which caused disharmony and contagion between things which should not come into contact. Many taboos seem created at the whim of the spirits with no clear rationale in ordinary reality. Regardless, people conformed or suffered the consequences. Healing or wellbeing of individual and community, therefore, were brought about by the shaman travelling to the non-ordinary reality where he attempted to placate the offended spirits. (Sources for shamanic data include: Rasmussen 1929; Halifax 1982; Eliade 1964; Perers and Prince-Williams 1980; Furst 1977).

REVITALIZATION OR NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

The world as it actually is and the world as it is believed to be should reflect each other, and it is through religion that the real world and the ideal world of the "world view" are related (e.g., Geertz 1965). In shamanism, the capriciousness of game, weather, problems of illness was explained by recourse to a world of the supernatural in which spirits became

offended by the intentional or unintentional actions of people. The system of taboos set limits for people in order to keep the supernaturals from causing harm. The taboos were many, however, and it was impossible to keep them all. So problems occurred. The shaman acted as mediator between man and the supernatural, and it was through him that the world was returned to normal and the society could continue.

When, however, the ideal world of the "world view" ceases to reflect the observed reality, chaos threatens because people no longer understand how to behave or deal with problems that occur. This inconsistency between the observed and the ideal can occur in a society from stresses within it--major epidemics like bubonic plague, or economic depression. Similarly, sociocultural contact between a large complex society and a small one, in which the small society is evangelized and subordinated, may also result in the real/ideal ambiguity. When people are under continual stress and feelings of helplessness, meaninglessness, deprivation, and long-term frustration prevail due in part to the inability of old ways to deal with the observed problems, they may respond by creating a new religious movement---a revitalization movement to bring the real world and the envisioned ideal world back into harmony. New rules and new behaviours will be developed to replace the old, now ineffectual ones in problem solving. This process can be seen in all areas where "civilization" has remained in contact with indigenous small societies. (Some examples of movements include the Ghost Dance of 1890, Handsome Lake of the Iroquois 1799, Peyote or Native American Church ca. 1885-present; Cargo cults of 19th and 20th century Melanesia.) The process has occurred over and over among Arctic/Subarctic peoples when stresses and real or perceived deprivation became overpowering. The process continues today (e.g. Aberle 1970; Glock 1964).

Contact and Conflict in the Arctic/Subarctic

Throughout the North American Arctic/Subarctic, contact with Indians and Eskimos[1] by Europeans usually had similar results. Native people were drawn into the wider Western economic sphere as labourers, sea mammal hunters, or trappers. The result was frequently a whole or partial disruption of seasonal subsistence rounds, a consolidation of people in settlements near trading posts, introduction of western goods such as metal and, toward the end of the 19th century, rifles, under circumstances where people lacked cash or trade items to acquire sufficient amounts of them.

Some of these introduced innovations and material goods had far reaching and unanticipated results. For example, the rifle often made hunting easier, but it reduced the need for sharing and cooperation among kin and community. It affected the hunters' prestige system which was based in part on generosity with resources (Chance 1965:56). Trapping and other fur trade/whale hunting/labour activities related to the western economic system further undercut sharing. Rarely were proceeds from these activities cycled into the traditional generosity-exchange system; rather they were retained within a separate, individualistic economic sphere. Chance (1965:56) points out that the new more efficient hunting technology using rifles brought into question the traditional religious beliefs by raising doubts about hunting rituals and taboos. The traditional means of social control, invoking supernatural punishment for disregarding traditional practices were also undercut by doubts regarding the efficacy of taboos to placate supernaturals and thus prevent illness, maintain good weather, and insure hunting success.

Game also diminished due to hunting pressure or climate shift (as in the Greenland case). Devastating diseases such as dysentery, smallpox, diphtheria, measles, and tuberculosis came with contact. People died in great numbers or suffered immeasurably because they lacked any resistance to the new European diseases. Shamans tried to alleviate the suffering both from game shortages and disease but their actions, based on old precepts and world views, proved ineffectual in this changed world.

Missionaries added to the state of confusion with new teachings of new Gods, sin, damnation to hell, and a multitude of prohibitions which often conflicted with natives' practices. Misfortunes and illnesses were the vengeance of a powerful, wrathful God brought upon people for their sins and disbeliefs rather than a result of a broken taboo. Polygyny, the mark of a powerful hunter and an important man, was condemned. Propitiation of game and other traditional religious ceremonies were preached against and religious paraphernalia destroyed. Amulets, believed by the people to protect and give supernatural power and assistance, were confiscated and destroyed. Shamans, the traditional religious leaders and healers, were said to be sinners in league with the devil. To be involved with traditional religious activities and shamans was to put one's soul into immortal danger. Preaching heavily emphasized the Last Judgement for sinners, the Second Coming of Christ, and the Millennium which would bring a perfect world to all the saved. It was coming very soon---perhaps in their lifetime.

Shamans responded to these threats from servants of the new Gods in several ways. At times they agitated against the missionaries and worked spells to dispose of them (e.g., Gad 1973: 155). In some cases shamans shifted their allegiance to the missionaries to become influential church workers, and sometimes catechists or lay readers. At times the natives confused the Christian Gods and the shaman, so that God became merely a powerful shaman (Gad 1973:74), or only a powerful helping spirit which the missionaries used just as the shaman used his helping spirits. Alternatively, the missionary might be cast in the role of powerful shaman with tools (traps, rifles, boats) superior to native goods, more powerful helping spirits, and sometimes abilities to heal with his new medicines. Clearly, in many cases there is a syncretism between the new Christianity and the traditional religion. There was an attempt to retain the old religion while accepting major elements of the Christian doctrine in order to use all spirits to the best, most expedient advantage.

It is against this background of confusion, deprivation and helplessness in a world where old solutions were no longer effective and old ways of behaving no longer held meaning that new religious movements began to rise. Through it all, the shaman was often an important actor, with threads of the old religion interwoven with the innovations.

Millennial Movements in the Arctic and Subarctic

One of the most common types of revitalization movements through the world is the millenarian. When pressures mount so that people recognize the current system is dysfunctional, they may consider the present an evil which must be destroyed. A prophet may arise, telling of revelations in which God or spirits admonish the people to turn from their evil ways and prepare for a new world. The millennium will come swiftly, in this world---not in some heaven of the future.

Sometimes the millennium is similar to the past when things were ideal before people fell into bad times. Only the good will survive in the new, perfect world, game will be plentiful, and there will be no more sickness. The causes of evil (in contact situations, frequently the Europeans) will disappear. This prophecy came about at least three different times in the Arctic where it was couched within the Christian framework. Christian beliefs were taken at their literal, face value and shamanic capabilities were interwoven to create a movement of anticipatory urgency.

Sukkertoppen, West Greenland 1787

One of the earliest movements, in Evigheds fjord, Sukkertoppen, West Greenland began in spring 1787, and blended Christian and traditional religions into a millenarian zeal. An Inuit woman, Mary Magdalene, announced she had a revelation from God calling on people to live properly. The missionary condemned her. Later she demonstrated clairvoyance in shamanistic style by telling people what they did in the interior while she remained behind in the settlement. During Christmas, 1788, someone heard singing and saw the dead hovering in the air. (Spirits in the air parallel both some Eskimo beliefs about one of several kinds of afterlife [Rasmussen 1929; Weyer 1962] and the Christian heaven supposedly in the sky.) Mary believed this heralded the Judgement Day which the missionaries had so vehemently predicted, and said God was angry with the Inuit's lack of faith. A church service was organized with hymn singing. Mary's husband, Habakkuk, was called Jesus and acted as a confessor. Game was shared, an attempt to return to the old ways and incorporate Christian ideal values of sharing at a time when Europeans were undercutting the sharing system. Witchcraft was condemned, in keeping with both Eskimo and European traditions. In spite of some setbacks the movement survived with prophetic teaching until after 1813 (Holland 1977: 37-40; Ostermann 1929).

Friedrichstal, South Greenland 1853-1854

Over 60 years later (in 1853-1854) but probably drawing from the same tradition, another movement emerged in Friedrichstal, South Greenland where Moravian missionaries were in control. During an especially severe winter people gathered for daily prayers in Michael's home rather than church. Michael, a catechist trainee, calling himself Gabriel after God's messenger, said he had visions, had spoken to Christ, and had been directed to form a new community without Europeans. The converted moved to Komiut where "Gabriel" predicted the imminent end of the world. People cut their hands, letting believers suck the blood as the "blood of Christ". Gabriel breathed in their mouths to give the spirit in a shamanic mode. Everyone destroyed their property to be free of worldly ties, ready to ascend into heaven. They went to a mountain top to await the end, but when the prophecy failed, the movement was

crushed (Holland 1977; Ostermann 1929).

This movement is more clearly Christian based. The pressure of Europeans in the conservative, suppressive Moravian evangelism, and the ecological problems related to climate change in the 1840's with the related migration of seals northward combined to create severe stress. The establishment of a community without Europeans is a clear indication that the people recognized one source of disruption. But, in a broader context, the movement echoes the Melanesian Cargo cults of the same general time period in the South Pacific. There also, Europeans should be banished, or miraculously removed, and property was destroyed to prepare the way for gifts (cargo) from God (e.g., Worsley 1968). The movement indicates misinterpretations of Christianity, excesses of missionization, and an attempt to reconcile the new religion with the current conditions and older premises.

Home Bay, Baffin Island 1921

Much later at Kivitung near Home Bay, Baffin Island, another millenarian movement was initiated in 1921. Christianity had been introduced in Cumberland Sound in 1894, and in 1919 Peck developed a syllabic Bible. Syllabic reading skills and Bibles were disseminated throughout Baffin Land.

Neakuteuk, a Kivitung trading post employee, received a Bible and tried desperately to understand it. Prayerbooks, Bibles, church calendars and crucifixes were used in some locales as amulets to cure (Jenness 1964:67); it may be that Neakuteuk approached Bible reading within the shamanic paradigm as an attempt to gain power by comprehension of the magic words to which the missionaries alone had been privy. In December 1921, he declared himself to be Christ, and simulated Christ hanging from the cross. By identifying with Christ and simulating crucifixion, it is possible that he was following the older shamanic practice of gaining a very powerful spirit (Christ) as much as actually believing himself to be the Second Coming. In shamanic traditions the aspiring shaman must approach death in non-ordinary reality and be reconstituted to return changed--as a shaman. He appointed messengers to spread his doctrine. After more study he announced that the marriages would be valid no longer; everyone should simply love each other. He foretold the end of the world, admonishing the people to prepare by fasting and killing their dogs

which were essential to subsistence pursuits. Blind Muyeuk asked Neakuteuk to give him some wind so that he could ascend to Jesus. Later Neakuteuk decided that because Muyeuk and another man, Lemik, were full of God's spirit and might later sin and lose that spirit, they should be killed. Not long after, Neakuteuk was killed when he attempted to hit Lemik's wife with a hammer, presumably to permit her to ascend also. During the preparation of Neakuteuk's body for burial, the primus stove, which was heating water to wash the body, began to sing that its flame was everlasting and inextinguishable. It was said that during this time the believers baptized themselves in Neakuteuk's blood. Then the arms of the frozen corpse moved and Neakuteuk breathed and laughed (Holland: 46-48; 122-123; Wallis 1943).

Revivalist Movement

Millennial movements depend on miraculous happenings to bring the desired result. Revivalist movements, on the other hand, are couched in objective reality and do not rely on miracles. Although they also perceive the conditions as sinful, or wayward, they attempt to return to the pure religion and are fundamentalist or sect in approach.

In Godthaab, West Greenland, in 1907-1908, Stephen Moller, a Greenlander catechist educated in Denmark, formed a congregation that worshipped every morning, studied the Bible, and had communion each Sunday. During the summer, large meetings lasted several days. It persisted as a revival until the 1920's. (Holland 1977: 41-43; Ostermann 1929).

Native Proseletized Christian-like Movements

Inuit who heard Christian doctrine sometimes took it upon themselves to carry the Word to others with little or no contact with whites. The religion which was transmitted was a blend of fundamentalist Christianity and traditional beliefs.

Iglulik 1920

Uming, who had obtained a syllabic Bible at Pond Inlet in 1919, travelled to Iglulik the following year (1920) where he preached the new religion to those with almost no white contact. To demonstrate their membership in his religion, people flew white flags outside their snow houses and on their

sleds. No work was permitted on Sunday; people sang hymns to arriving and departing guests. All game was brought to Uming who acted as central redistributor, paralleling the issumataaq role in traditional society. The movement spread along the coast and reached Repulse Bay in 1922 (Holland 1977: 45-46). The behaviours seem to parallel ritual and magical prescriptions and proscriptions of traditional times. Iglulik had only minimal contact prior to this time.

North Alaska, ca. 1870-1900

Between about 1870 and 1900 North Alaska from Point Barrow to the Mackenzie was the scene of two revitalization movements. Some suggest that Inuit who had been in contact with whites in the Nome area travelled into the North Alaskan region not yet in contact with whites, spreading a form of Christianity. It is conceivable, however, that this might be an indigenous movement in response to unknown circumstances.

The first movement, Oivaksat or Wiivaksat, carried the message that there were spirits, or strangers, in the sky which seem related to dead ancestors. In this, the movement sounds surprisingly like the Sukkertoppen visions over 100 years earlier. It was prophesied that these dead would soon return and bring everything that people would need for a comfortable life. In this sense, the movement is clearly millennial.

The Wiivaksat was followed by the "New Religion" also propagated by Inuit preachers. Shamans often opposed it, but just as often became preachers in it, molding fragments of Christianity into the traditional belief system for a new syncretic Inuit religion. Some claimed to have been taken up to see God and returned to life in much the same manner as a shamanic journey.[2] This underwrote their claims to abilities in healing and bringing good luck. The Supreme Being as a helpful spirit had some advantages over the many individual spirits of traditional shamans. People were admonished not to work on Sunday; rituals included beating the air to beat their sins down to the ground. God was a very special Supreme Being with the ability to intervene directly in sickness and hunting in much the same way that a shaman functioned. When the missionaries began to make inroads into the North Alaskan interior around the Nunamiut in the 1940's, they found the stage set for easier propagation of religion (Gubser 1965: 56-61; Spencer 1959: 296-298).

Subarctic. The Prophet Movement 1960's

We have had little information until recently on Subarctic movements. In the 1960's however, the Euro-Canadians were beginning to make a greater impact on the Northwest Territories. Soon Slave-Beaver prophets from northern Alberta made their way into this heavily Roman Catholic region in 1966, and subsequently a few other men took up the prophet position in the local communities. The ceremony and belief system is closed to whites. Apparently much of the doctrine is revivalistic, admonishing the people to stop drinking, turn from the bad, sinful ways, and return to the good life as characterized by the native past, the shamanic traditions, and Christian ideals. Although some Indian elements such as tobacco offerings were included in the ceremony, it is difficult to know how much shamanic quality is integrated into the movement (June Helm 1968, 1981).

Ecumenical Movement 1970's

An ecumenical pan-Indian movement was initiated by United States Indians, but it has a large Canadian membership. The yearly meeting place often is on the Stoney Reserve in Alberta. Christian and traditional Indians, Christian priests and shamans are involved in this effort to bring about a moral and social revival in Indian life. While there is some talk of a millennium, it is not a major focal point. More important is the concept of power, or medicine, and its use to solve a multitude of problems facing Indians today, including healing, and the broader protection of the world, following the plan of the Creator. There is a clear and strong indication that shamans are again becoming important especially in healing and as reservoirs of the old, ideal way of life to which all should return (Stanley 1977).

Charismatic Evangelists

In the last 10 or so years evangelists have become more active in the Arctic and Subarctic. One, Bill Prankard, an Ottawa charismatic evangelist, has acquired a small plane and flies the arctic community circuit spreading his version of the Gospel. He speaks through native interpreters so his message is available to all (Winnipeg Free Press; Man Alive).

Within this movement there seem to me to be parallels with shamanism. Services are filled with admonishments for people to be good, give their lives to Christ, and turn from the evil ways of liquor and other sins--a typical Christian message. Confession of sin, paralleling the shamanic system, is critical for a happy life. There is considerable emotion generated with audience participation. Speaking in tongues by the preacher or the audience is a common feature. Here the Holy Ghost comes over the person and speaks through him much as the shaman's spirits do. Most important, faith healing is a major part of this message. This is done by the preacher (in a shaman-like role) who touches the patient. Christ's spirit enters the preacher and works through him much as the shaman's helping spirit works to help him cure. Illness seems mystically related to sin and evil, so it is cast out in a process similar to the shaman's.

The evaluation of this movement is difficult at this point. Most northern people are nominally Roman Catholic or Anglican. On the negative side, when a "new" Christian religion is introduced in a small village where another Christian religion is already established it tends to bring about confrontation between members of the two congregations and often splits the village. Some villages have been destroyed by just such activities (e.g., Townsend 1965). Inuit political leaders are concerned because, they say, people who become charismatics put too much faith in prayer and are continually praying instead of taking direct, objective action to bring about changes in Inuit Society.

On the positive side, some people, after joining, have given up alcohol and drugs, bringing about a constructive change in their lives. Second, as I have pointed out, there are many elements of shamanism within the charismatic belief and action systems: the assistance of and possession by helping spirits, the belief in the immediate intercession of spirits (here, Christ) into people's personal affairs, ecstatic states including speaking tongues, and of healing by non-orthodox medical means (faith healing). If the Inuit or Indians concerned are able to gain control of the movement, particularly if "latent" shamans are able to gain leadership positions as preachers, we may see a positive resurgence of traditional belief developed within a Christian framework. Certainly the possibilities for this to occur and survive as a viable system are better now than probably ever before because of an increasing value placed on traditional systems. Within the belief system there may

develop a world view which is appropriate to the modern concerns of the native people as well as a system which provides a clear meaning to life and value to their ethnic identity.

NOTES

1. There are two major groups of Eskimo distinguished on linguistic and other grounds: Yupik of Siberia and Alaska south of Norton Sound and Inuit north of that locale and in Canada. The term "Eskimo" is used as a general referent; "Inuit" will refer specifically to Canadian and north Alaskan populations.

2. In this aspect there are parallels with the Ghost Dance of 1890 in the Plains.

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TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY ROLES OF INUIT WOMEN

Minnie Aodla Freeman

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In her opening remarks, Minnie Freeman challenged the ACUNS membership to explain why, after 50 years of qallunaat education in the Arctic, there were still no universities there. In the 1930's, the Department of Northern Affairs had promised her parents that all levels of education would be provided to their children. Yet today, native northerners are still being trained for short term, lower level jobs - indeed only three Inuit have ever received doctoral degrees. She asked ACUNS to take the lead in campaigning for a university in the North.

First, I would like to thank the organizers of this conference for inviting me to participate. I think open discussion of northern values is very important, especially today. When I say today - today can have many meanings - but when I say today, it is not like 20 - 40 years ago when Inuit values were never on the agendas of any kind of southern meetings, especially concerning Inuit women.

The important role that women play in the Inuit society is just as strong today - and maybe even more so. Inuit women have always been preservers and transmitters of cultural values. For that reason, although my paper speaks of the role of Inuit women, I wish to emphasize most strongly the continuing importance of values. With all kinds of options open to Inuit today, one would think Inuit traditional values had been buried years ago....but, as an Inuk, I am not thinking about material values. Like any society that has its own traditions, beliefs and cultural values, Inuit women were and still are the keepers of the hidden values - when I say hidden, I mean the family and community values that one cannot see or study by being an outsider. Traditionally, women have always been the keepers of values. Inuit women are trained from birth to control the foundation of families, the foundation of relations, the foundation of beliefs, the foundation of cultural values. I am maybe making it sound as though Inuit women are domineering and very bossy - that is not the case. The training is a long and sometimes very painful process in itself. For instance, how can small, seemingly weak, and rather shy women domineer and rule a host of families and get respect at the same time - that is the goal of the training. Agony is the means of learning.

Inuit women go through a process of agonies to achieve this. I really do not know why I pick this subject, I have tried to explain it several times to different individuals and I always seem to get lost in how to explain it. I think the best example I can think of is this. My grandmother, who brought up my brother and me, saw to it that my brother could receive something without me feeling left out - this was long and very painful. She did not practice this once but many times, until I became able to handle that left out feeling. In other words, she was killing it. At the same time, she taught me to watch my brother appreciate things and I, in turn, to admire his ability to appreciate. If that explanation does not get through to you, you are lacking in appreciation. However, to get back to the keeper of values, it is a learned process that Inuit women have carried from one generation to another.

Now, I want to get back to the question of how one becomes a keeper of values - again, the same painful process. It is ironic that any woman has to go through a painful process to value anything. Traditionally, Inuit women went through a very painful process to marry. First of all, they married without a choice, husbands chosen by parents. That's painful and yet they learned to value their husbands. Then, the woman goes through very painful childbirth and values her children, and then has to teach her children very painfully, values which pain her.

Last summer I was in a meeting among elderly Inuit men and women. I was watching to see how far Inuit have come and what has really changed. I love watching people behave, it is my favourite past-time. Anyway, the discussion in the meeting concerned the men going out to hunt and the women staying home and minding the household. Each had their own story to tell. One particular man was describing how hard it was to go out and face the cold and try to find an animal for his family meal for that day. The woman was describing how hard it was to wait at home and always wonder if her husband is alright or not. The man said to the woman, "It takes strength to go out and try to find an animal to bring to the family, but you, you are a woman who is weak and cannot carry heavy duty alone." I tell you, I nearly croaked at that moment. The woman became very gentle and told the man he was so right. What a training, I thought.

But what is happening today that is very important to Inuit societies? With all the options that are available, one would think that northern values have been buried and never thought of again. Today Inuit women have all kinds

of options. They can marry anyone they choose, they can have children in hospitals with pain killers, and they can go to school and choose careers and become whatever they want. But the values that are being instilled orally by the parents are stronger than ever.

The changes that I have seen and experienced myself are that Inuit women become two people - there might be a better word than that, but I have said in my book that I have become two people. Last summer I lived in Sanikiluaq, a small community on Hudson Bay with a population of 300. I lived with a family with five children, three girls and two boys. Four of those children are going to the regular government school daily, ten months of the year. I became very close and attached to the family and being interested to what is happening to Inuit and particularly to women today, I watched very carefully what is happening with Inuit women and their values today. The woman of the house is about my age, cautious and around the bent of wisdom - as you know, Inuit calculate age by speech and mental attitudes, not by numbers or years.

The woman is now in the qallunaat or southern environment in her house. She lives in a four-bedroom house with electricity, washing machine, radio, telephone and TV. She eats by the clock, not by her body's needs. She is very adapted to imported material things. She is bringing up her children traditionally - they have no choice but to obey her. When she is feeling lost about her children, she goes to her mother's house for advice. In other words, she knows who she is, an Inuit woman.

Her four children, as I said, are going to school every day, facing southern teaching - math, spelling and English. When the older girl, age 14, comes home from school, she takes over the baby and the younger sister takes over the house cleaning and serving tea, while the mother continues the more important and heavier roles. There are no complaints, it is done and expected by the mother; there is no answering back when parents speak. There was one small scene when the sister said "I am tired". The mother began to love laugh looking her daughter straight in the eye, and of course who ever was in the house joined in the love laugh. The girls perked up and began to do the dishes.

Women have a way. When I was a child and did not want to go to bed, I used to be told that I would not grow anymore, and of course I wanted to keep on growing and went to bed. If I did not know how to handle a needle, I would

never become a women; if I spoke too loud, I would never be seen; if I got up too late in the morning, I would bear unhealthy children; if I did not share, especially with my brother, I would be poor. No doubt these children I was watching were being told similar beliefs and systems to follow.

On another occasion I watched these same children, but this time the parents were out. The same two girls became two very different people. There were ordering each other about loudly and at the end the oldest girl ordered her sister to sit in the corner or "I will report you to the principal". I could not help it, but I began to laugh. I had been behaving as if I was not in the room, just watching and all of a sudden I began to laugh, a funny laugh. They became shy and continued what they were doing, cleaning the house, but they began to whisper in fear that I might tell on them. The mother came home and I never said anything. I decided that it would be our secret, even though I did not tell them that.

Thank you for taking your valuable time to listen to this very small part of Inuit women's values of yesterday and today.

WOMEN IN NORTHERN RESOURCE TOWNS

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Introduction

The resource communities of the Canadian north have traditionally been viewed as male-domain. The stereotyped image of women's roles in these frontier communities has historical roots in such colourful characters as Klondike Kate or the inhabitants of "Lousetown" in the heyday of Dawson City's gold rush. Today, as in the past, male predominance of these communities is very evident from both a purely numerical perspective as well as economically, socially and politically. However, with increasing recognition that married men constitute the most stable, and therefore most desirable, element of the work force, there are increasing numbers of women in resource communities. In this paper I will first examine the role of women in these communities. I will then consider some of the environmental characteristics which differentiate isolated northern towns both physically and socially from southern communities. Finally, I will examine women's responses to this environment. In the latter context I will include some of the findings from my own research in two northern Manitoba mining towns: Thompson and Leaf Rapids.

Women's Roles in Northern Resource Towns

Most women in resource communities are wives. Their reason for being there is determined by their husbands' work, and their status in the community is determined predominantly by their husbands' occupational status. The function of women from the perspective of the company is to act as a "stabilizing force" (Caswey and Richardson, 1975; St. Martin, 1981). However, it has also been indicated that a significant cause of labour turnover is associated with community dissatisfaction on the part of the employee's family (Siemens, 1976; Bradbury, 1982; Himelfarb, 1982). It would appear that despite the recognition by management that married men are the most desirable type of employee, companies have made relatively little effort at the community level to accommodate family needs.

Most married women in resource communities play supportive roles to their husbands. Interesting insights into the role of housewives in a

resource community are provided in a recent sociological study by Meg Luxton (1980) (aptly entitled More than a Labour of Love), in which she examines 'domestic labour' as it has been performed by three generations of housewives in the mining town of Flin Flon. Bowles (1982: 108) commenting on Luxton's work states that, "..... resource communities are constructed to house the labour force necessary to production. 'Housing the labour force' involves a lot of work, usually performed by women, to meet the needs of workers so that they can return refreshed to their employment."

All research which has examined the migration decision-making of people moving to northern resource communities identifies economic factors (e.g. job availability, higher wages) as the primary attraction (e.g. Matthiasson, 1970; Riffel, 1975; Canada, Energy, Mines and Resources, 1976). For the married couple the expectations associated with an improved economic situation are frequently unrealistic. On the basis of my own research in northern Manitoba I suggest that the importance attached to economic aspects prior to migration perhaps overshadows and distorts the image of the environmental and social aspects of life in a northern mining town (Gill, 1982). On moving to the north the new residents experience the expected economic well-being, and often enjoy the ability to purchase such luxuries as snowmobiles, stereo equipment, power boats or recreational vehicles (all of which are important status symbols in a resource community). Simultaneously, however the realities of the environment are also experienced.

The Environment

It seems appropriate to begin this section with a quotation from a woman in a National Film Board of Canada (NFB) production entitled No Life for a Woman. She recalls the first letter she wrote home to her mother after arriving in McKenzie, northern British Columbia. She wrote "Remember when I married Bob and said I'd follow him to the ends of the earth? Well, finally Mum, I'm here" (NFB, 1979). It is not the end of the earth, but the environment without doubt differs in many respects to that of a southern community (Bowles, 1982).

In the present context "environment" is used in its broadest sense to include both physical and social aspects of the community. Physically the most significant factor that distinguishes the northern resource town is location. Several other aspects of life are subsumed under this general category.

One important aspect, that is frequently mentioned as a reason for community dissatisfaction, is the feeling of isolation. Although this is obviously a very subjective component it is often associated with two factors: distance from a large city and distance from friends and family. Distance from a large city is a complex factor associated with the restricted urban facilities (such as shopping and entertainment) available in a small community, as well as the availability of adequate transport facilities to the south. The second component, distance from friends and family, is especially acute in the earlier stages of residence in the north before adequate social networks have been established and is also important during times of stress. In most cases it is women who suffer most from feelings of isolation.

A further component of northern location is the climate. Winters in the north are longer and colder than in the south, and the winter days are shorter. Snow is usually around from November until April and it too has an isolating effect on women who find themselves confined to the house for extensive periods. It is during February in particular that the incidence of mental disorders among women commonly referred to as "cabin fever" or "housewife psychosis" reaches its highest incidence (Siemens, 1976; McKenzie, 1981). However, one woman in Leaf Rapids commented to me "It's not the winters that get me down, we expect that, but if we get a bad summer which is cold and wet so that we don't get a break, then it's really depressing. Then people leave." From the perspective of understanding the behavioural response to the environment this comment emphasizes the importance of expectations to environmental satisfaction. Companies are gradually beginning to recognize that there is little to be gained from "overselling" the joys of life in a northern town because if unrealistic expectations are created, then turnover rates will also be increased.

Northern resource towns vary considerably in terms of their physical characteristics. Size is an important variable because it is closely linked to the level of urban amenities as well as the character of the social environment. Resource communities in Canada range in size from populations of less than 1,000 to several towns with over 20,000 residents. The majority of communities however, have under 10,000 population. Another physical variable is the type of housing stock available. Single-family owner-occupied homes are now widely recognized as the most desirable type of housing in resource communities as they tend to encourage a more stable married population

(Deprez, 1973; Canada, Energy, Mines and Resources, 1976). However, depending on company policy, the proportion of rental units (apartments or townhouses) varies, as does the number of mobile homes.

In my own research (Gill, 1982), two mining towns: Thompson and Leaf Rapids, were selected for study because they differed in a number of ways thus permitting an examination of the influence of the environment on residential satisfaction.

Thompson is the third largest city in Manitoba and at the peak of its growth, prior to 1978, it reached a population of 21,000. However, with cutbacks since then the town's population has declined to around 14,500. The primary function of Thompson is to service the nickel mining and smelting operation of INCO, which began operation in 1958. A secondary function is as a government and service centre for northern Manitoba. For this reason, recession has not hit this community as hard as most other mining towns which are solely dependent on a single industry. Thompson is located 750 kilometers north of Winnipeg, the closest major city, with which it is connected by a paved road, a daily jet air service and a rather devious railway route. The level of services in Thompson is congruent with a community of this size and includes a downtown shopping mall plus several small suburban shopping areas. There are two Safeway stores, several hotels, two theatres, various restaurants, a swimming pool and sports facilities.

Leaf Rapids is a much smaller community with a maximum population in 1980 of 2,368. It too has suffered from cutbacks, and in 1982 had a population of about 1,700. The community serves Sherritt Gordon's copper and zinc mining operation and its future development is at present uncertain. The town is located 212 kilometers northwest of Thompson along an unpaved gravel road. Construction of Leaf Rapids was completed in 1974 and the town is unique in a number of ways. It was a very carefully designed town in which efforts were made to plan an environmentally-sound community, one which incorporated innovative ecological and sociological planning concepts. The focus of the community is the "Town Centre". This building, which won a major architectural award, houses nearly all community services, including the school, hotel, retail facilities, health clinic and government offices. The residential areas are planned around this centre on bays and crescents. Short footpaths through the pleasant birch and spruce woods connect the residential areas to the town centre. A high proportion, (around 70%), of housing units

in Leaf Rapids are single-family, owner-occupied homes; a factor which was specifically incorporated into the plans to encourage a more stable population with a sense of community (Leaf Rapids Development Corporation, n.d.).

Stereotyping of the physical and social character of the resource community environment is common amongst southern residents. A personal anecdote serves to characterize this image. When I was offered a job which would involve living in Thompson, a former colleague in Edmonton advised me against accepting the job because it was as he expressed it: "really rough up there, not a very good place for a single woman to go". Having no experience of such communities, and only a very general stereotyped image of what a northern mining town was like, my interpretation of "rough" included components of the original frontier mining camps: drunkenness, brawling, and general public disorder. Ignoring the advice, I was surprised to find myself in an environment not dissimilar from the Edmonton suburb I had just left. The reason for the distorted image that my colleague had of Thompson can be explained in terms of Lucas' (1971) classification of the stages of evolution in the development of resource communities. My colleague had been in Thompson in 1959 when the town was in the early stages of construction. During this initial phase the population is very transient and consists predominantly of single men. It is in association with this stage that the not uncommon stereotype of the northern mining community has evolved.

The second stage, that of "recruitment", is characterized by increasing numbers of married workers. It is particularly at this stage of development that wives experience considerable dissatisfaction due to the lack of urban and social amenities (Lucas, 1971). The "transition" stage is marked by increasing stability as control of the town passes from the company to the community and residents develop an attachment to or a "stake" in the community.

With the final stage of growth to "maturity" the demographic structure begins to resemble that of southern communities, with older residents representing a stable core of people who view the community as home. It is thought that this stage of development takes 60-70 years, or at least two generations, to attain (Budgen, 1983). Relatively few mining communities reach this stage. The reason for this is because of a stage not identified by Lucas, that of "decline". The "boom and bust" characteristics of mining towns are well recognized as indications of fluctuations in the international metal markets. In many cases the decline is temporary, a situation that has been

plaguing Canadian mining towns in the last few years, but in some instances where the ore body is exhausted, closure is permanent. There have been some studies recently of the social and psychological effects of such decline (McKenzie, 1978; St. Martin, 1981a). One which particularly addresses women's responses to decline examines the recent closure of Schefferville (St. Martin, 1981b).

Obviously, as indicated, the social structure of communities varies with the stage of development. However, some broad generalizations can be made. The "average" resident is between 20-40 years of age, married and with more children per family than the national average of 1.4. (In Leaf Rapids the average family size is 1.8, and in Thompson 1.7). There are also a significant number of young single men in these communities who constitute a highly mobile component of the population. Often single men live in company-owned residences and form a distinct social group whose lifestyles and transience separate them from other residents. There are a few single women also, usually teachers or nurses, and some divorced or separated women who have initially come to the north as married women.

Women's Response to the Environment

In this section I will first consider specific factors that research has identified as significant stressors and then examine the responses of women to these environmental stressors. I will then turn to my own research on environmental evaluation between men and women, identifying some aspects of satisfaction as well as dissatisfaction.

Boredom and loneliness appear to be the most frequently mentioned problems of women in resource communities. These two interrelated problems stem from a number of aspects of life. As new residents in a community, far removed from relatives and friends, women often find it difficult to make new friends and there are few social structures in these towns to facilitate interaction (NFB, 1979). The climate aggravates this situation as it is often difficult to get out of the house during the long winters, especially if there are young children in the family. If one does get out of the house there are few places to go, certainly window shopping, a common filler of idle time for southern city dwellers, is not a possibility in most resource communities. Shopping facilities generally are considered a common source of dissatisfaction especially in terms of the limited choice of goods (Siemens, 1976). For

women who aspire to work outside the home, opportunities are limited. Most available jobs for women are poorly paid, usually clerical or sales positions, but nevertheless there is often fierce competition for such jobs. For example in one town there were 88 applicants for 4 cashiers jobs (Finlayson, 1980). Mining companies have recently responded to legislation concerning women's rights and boast of equal employment opportunities for all jobs. (In fact, Sherritt Gordon in Leaf Rapids was one of the first to engage women in all aspects of mining.) Until a few years ago it was superstitiously still considered taboo for women to even go underground in most mines. Now a few women do work underground, a few operate heavy equipment, a few drive trucks, but these are the exceptions rather than the rule. A further problem for working mothers with small children is that day care facilities are often inadequate. As many women in resource towns are also mothers, there seems to be a particular need for part-time employment (Lauder, 1977).

The Women's Movement has perhaps distorted the public's attitudes concerning the desire of women to work outside the home. Many women are content with their jobs as full-time homemakers and mothers and as housewives, the needs of the family are of greatest significance to their lives (Bowles, 1982). The lives of many women in northern towns (as indeed elsewhere) revolve around the needs of their children, (with large amounts of time spent at such places as the ice arena). Whereas for men their job provides a sense of identity, women base their sense of personal identity on their family and home (Riffel, 1975). Because of this psychiatrists indicate that inadequate housing is a daily reminder for some women that they have failed as mothers and wives, which in turn can lead to psychiatric disorders (Brown and Harris, 1978). On this basis the frequently mentioned housing problems in resource communities would seem to be a significant environmental stressor.

During the 1960's when a number of new resource communities were being developed in the north the planning philosophy was to construct communities that closely resembled southern communities, thus earning them the name of "wilderness suburbs". The idea behind this was that people living in the north were in fact from the south and thus had southern attitudes and values. It was therefore assumed that they would be happier in a familiar environment (Siemens, 1976). Planning attitudes changed in the 1970's when there was greater concern for urban design that was congruent with the northern environment. The result was communities such as Leaf Rapids. It is interesting,

however, that in Leaf Rapids the original plans to have higher density housing as an adjustment to the cold climate, were rejected by residents of Lynn Lake who were going to be transferred to Leaf Rapids. The resulting lower density, single family homes complete with lawns and gardens reflect this resident input into the design. Also in Leaf Rapids some differences of opinion were expressed by the company and the residents with regard to mobile homes. In an attempt to reduce the semblance of transience the company wanted the number of mobile home units restricted despite residents' demands for more. From a financial viewpoint, a married couple unable or unwilling to invest in a house may find the option of owning a mobile home preferable to renting accommodation. However, many women find life in a mobile home especially stressful (NFB, 1979).

The specific housing needs of residents seem at present to be relatively little understood, although the connection between good housing conditions and labour turnover has been noted (Canada, Energy, Mines and Resources, 1976; Siemens, 1976). However the details of house design specifically to meet the needs of residents in northern resource towns does not appear to have been examined. For example, because families tend to be larger than average, houses are often too small. This situation is aggravated because the cold winters keep children indoors for extensive periods, which can lead to considerable stress between parents and children as there is often inadequate recreational space for the children to play indoors. A woman in McKenzie, B.C. expressed surprise that anyone would design houses with long driveways in a climate where heavy snow necessitates frequent shovelling (NFB, 1979). Other complaints range from serious concern over generally poor construction and insulation leading to excessive heating bills, to such small details as lack of adequate hall space for winter boots. One woman told me she wished they would design a soundproof bedroom so that her husband, when coming off nightshift, could sleep during the day without being disturbed by the children. The stresses that shift work creates in a family situation are not uncommon in resource towns.

Other aspects of the community environment which create stress for women are the lack of urban amenities. Entertainment facilities are often particularly limited. There are few places to go except the bar and this is predominantly male-domain. Some would argue that there are many activities available in these communities if people take the initiative and make the

effort to get involved. However, such social integration is not easy and often takes considerable time. Before then many women have persuaded their husbands to quit (Bradbury, 1982). Lack of choice in terms of urban amenities can often lead to boredom [1].

Community services such as school and health care facilities can also be a factor of environmental stress. At an elementary level most parents consider the school system to be adequate but at a secondary level greater concern is expressed over the quality of education. High levels of turnover by educational and medical personnel can also be disruptive (Canada, Energy, Mines and Resources, 1976). Some residents also voice the opinion that they believe that the quality of personnel is inferior because teachers and doctors are in the north because they cannot get jobs in the south (Gill, 1982). Socially one of the more difficult aspects of life in a northern resource town is the transience. This is a problem for all residents but is probably most acute for longer-term residents. One woman said "I hardly feel like making friends anymore. Every time I make one she moves" (Finlayson, 1980:34).

How do some women respond to these stresses? The list of common psychological stress symptoms for which a higher than normal incidence is encountered in northern resource towns includes: depression (including "housewife psychosis"), alcoholism, drug abuse, promiscuity, suicide and accidents (Siemens, 1976). Other often associated responses include marital breakdown, pregnancy, obesity and ultimately migration out of the community. Certainly women are not alone in finding the environment stressful; however doctors in northern communities indicate that approximately two-thirds of their patients suffering from psychological disorders are women (Nickels and Kehoe, 1972; Siemens, 1976; McKenzie, 1978). Cut-backs and slowdown in industry have been shown to increase the incidence of stress symptoms (McKenzie, 1978).

I have portrayed rather a dismal picture of the plight of women living in resource towns. I will turn now to my own research which, rather than focussing on a problem, examines in a rather more general manner how residents

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[1] I was rather interested to note the converse of this expressed by long-term women residents in Thompson, who having adapted to the simpler northern environment, would frequently express frustration after a shopping trip to Winnipeg because there was '<u>too</u> much to choose from'!

evaluate their communities. Four hundred residents in the two communities of Thompson and Leaf Rapids were interviewed, of which 223 were women. Subjects responded to a set of 46 bipolar rating scales which included descriptive and evaluative adjectives relevant to northern mining towns. Mean responses to these scales generally revealed that women had more negative images of northern communities than men. In particular, scales relating to shopping facilities, choice of goods, housing availability, secondary schools, medical facilities, transportation to the south, and job security all received lower mean ratings from female respondents. On the other hand, outdoor recreation facilities and scenic quality were rated higher by women than men.

The two sets of rating scale data were next separately analyzed using principal components analysis. This reveals the simpler structure of the data, giving a clearer indication of the composite dimensions of evaluative judgements. The first and most important component for both men and women identifies "Urban Amenities". However, there is a broader range of scales loading on this component for women than for male respondents. Although shopping facilities, medical facilities, and housing availability are components of this dimension for both sexes, urban recreation facilities, choice of goods, and sense of community are also included by women. These differences perhaps reflect the greater importance of the urban environment to women, since it is a more significant component of their everyday lifestyle. Whereas male respondents spend considerable time in their work environment (which in many cases is at the mine site), women's activity spaces are more closely associated with the urban environment. The second component extracted for female respondents relates to the "Physical Environment". High loadings are registered by scales associated with attractiveness, pleasantness of the natural environment, the urban planning, and the civilized/rough nature of the community. This second component differs from that of the male respondents who identify the "Social Environment". The third component for both men and women is related to the "Recreational Environment".

The main difference between the male and female responses appears to be the lesser concern of females for the social environment and a greater emphasis on the functional environment. This may reflect the closer orientation of married women to home and family. Both males and females, however, identify the significance of urban amenities and outdoor recreational facilities in community evaluation.

My findings which are based rather heavily on statistical analysis do tend to support previous, more objective research which indicates that women are less satisfied than men with life in northern communities. It also indicates that family concerns tend to predominate women's evaluative structures. Although such concerns include negative features associated with such aspects as shopping, housing or medical facilities, women also recognize the advantages of raising children in a small community where outdoor recreational facilities are appealing and crime rates are low. In fact, one of the most common positive remarks I heard from women was "It's a good place to raise kids".

Conclusion

In concluding I can only stress that if labour stability is of major concern to resource companies, then greater efforts need to be made towards understanding the needs and attitudes of women in these communities. Women may primarily be in the communities as appendages to their husbands but they nevertheless exert considerable influence in determining their family's degree of residential satisfaction.

Although the application of environmental psychology to design is still in an early stage of development, it is nevertheless necessary to attempt to incorporate research findings into innovative physical and social design for isolated resource communities. It is unlikely that the problems of women can be cured simply by careful design but without doubt some aspects of the environment can be ameliorated, thus increasing residential satisfaction.

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'GOING NORTH' IN CANADIAN LITERATURE: A JOURNEY INTO OUR LAST FRONTIER

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I am going to begin this paper with the assumption that everyone here has gone North, had an experience that he tells stories about, but in spite of these stories, still misses the land's beauty, the people's hospitality, the adventure of learning a new way of life.

Since I am a southerner, I was surprised that three years in Labrador could give the South--my home--so foreign an appearance when I returned to it. I had forgotten, for instance, that people used garages. The size of them, especially the ones for two and three cars, were larger than most northern homes. I had also forgotten about the traffic. While skidoos are unbearably noisy, they are friendlier machines than cars--people stop them anywhere to visit. The most important thing I had forgotten, however, was money. In the city one never goes without it, for there, or here, even the simplest of things--a cup of tea--must be paid for.

From my culture shock, I began to realize that "going North" had had a very profound effect on me. It had been more than a three year fling with "roughing it in the bush". Other southerners who had gone North shared my nostalgia. They too wished to return but for one reason or another couldn't. When I decided to try and name why the North had been so affective an experience, I began to read northern literature. Then I found a radical difference between my experience and what the characters in the novels had experienced. Unlike the protagonists of The White Dawn by James Houston, White Eskimo by Harold Horwood and The White Shaman by C.W. Nicol--their titles alone suggest that "going North" is a significant "white" journey--I was still alive: I had not frozen; I had not drowned; I had not been attacked by a polar bear. Instead, I had had a rewarding three years teaching school, learning from the students how little I knew about what it means to live in a land and off a land that is in the truest sense their home. The North, they taught me, had something to do with being a Canadian.

History, however, provides a factual basis for the very "deadly" view that popular northern literature, literature that has been written by southerners, reflects. Many of the sailors, for instance, died in the search for the

North West Passage. In the volumes that describe that journey--it took centuries--and the novels that describe the adventures of fictional heroes, there is a common thread: everyone was looking for a mythic place. The explorers wanted to find the gateway to Cathay; the heroes were looking for a new land, a new life, a new Self. Although the explorers found the Passage, it wasn't as rewarding as finding Cathay itself would have been. Similarly, the heroes did not, by the mere fact of their presence in that land, become new human beings.

Both these views of the North, the historical and the fictional, treat it as a frontier that fails more than it succeeds. The young student in The White Shaman, for instance, an appropriate example for this audience, goes North as a research assistant. He gives up his very scientific rational mind, undergoes a shaman's transformation and creates a new Self. At the end of the story, however, he is shot. Ultimately, the author is saying, Peter cannot become a new person. The old order, therefore, is restored in the novel's conclusion.

While none of us have been shot for returning to the South with altered values, the novel describes the kind of loss or "death" we experience when we do return to the very ordered and controlled southern world. Nature, for instance, is becoming irrelevant in the city. In the supermarket, it already has: all the vegetables are always in season. Consequently, there is no natural order left to what we eat and when we eat it. In contrast, life on the land reflects the "time" of the land. I think that a good name for a northern short story would be, "It must be February, there's a caribou in the freezer".

Contrary to the popular southern notion that in the North anything goes, nothing in my experience went unless the weather or the season allowed it to. There was order, very definitely, but it was usually not man-made. And that, I speculate, is the freedom that attracts those of us who like to escape now and again from the restraints that very organized, institutionalized urban life and work represent. In that sense "going North" is an escape, a flight into a geographical frontier where life is simpler--and harsher--than it is in the South. If that escape, however, is only an escape, then the freedom it represents is false. One cannot take it with him when he leaves. It is a freedom that is dependent on place. That is one reason why so many heroes are killed-off at the end of their fictional journey. Their author

doesn't know what to do with them in the South. In researching a thesis that would explain the Canadian fascination for our last geographical frontier, I realized that I had to learn the difference between the frontier myth and the frontier fact.

In America, it was the West where one went to escape from the East and conventional living. A lawless land, the individual was literally free to kill to assert his independence and protect his life. Unlike the settler who broke the land and with his neighbours began to build a community, the frontier-type had to keep moving. "Have Gun Will Travel" typifies his life-philosophy.[1] As long as he could kill, literally, he himself did not have to conform or surrender any of his Self, his sense of individuality to the new community.

In Canada, however, the West was never wild and killing was never justified. The police were in charge. Not allowed to kill--law and order forbid it--the Canadian frontier-type protected his individuality by running away from whatever or whomever was threatening him. Rather than kill and become a criminal, he repressed his murder urge and became a neurotic.[2] Like his American counterpart, though, he desired more freedom than the average person. To find it, he went North. It became his escape, the frontier that gave him as much freedom as he could have without discovering what it was in himself that he had to keep running away from. A novel that explains how this escapist or transient mentality works--what makes the Canadian neurotic tick--is <u>But We are Exiles</u> by Robert Kroetsch.

In the story, a young man, Peter Guy, an ordinary guy, goes West to meet his fiancée in Banff. En route--he is hitchhiking--he is picked up by another young man, Hornyak, who as his name vividly suggests, is old enough to be sexually experienced. Together, the two make their way--quite literally--across the prairie with Hornyak acting as Peter's mentor. When they arrive in Banff, however, and Peter walks into his fiancée's bedroom and sees that Hornyak got there first--he sees his reflection and his fiancée's in the mirror--he very passively leaves the room and starts to go North. A nice Canadian boy, he'd rather switch than fight!

He gets a job as a navigator on the Mackenzie River and for six years spends the summers running the river and the winters minding his own business in a northern community. He does not return South, he does not communicate with his family and for six years he lives as if his past had never existed.

When Hornyak very suddenly reappears as the new owner of Peter's boat, Peter finally acts. Still a nice Canadian boy, he does not kill him outrightly. Instead, he engineers an accident to do it for him. At first, even Peter is not really aware that he is a murderer. When Hornyak's body finally surfaces, though, so does enough evidence that Peter's guilt becomes obvious. Then he is obliged to admit, Yes, he did kill Hornyak. He also admits, at least to himself, that he has wanted to kill him ever since he saw his reflection in the mirror in Banff.

In the novel's conclusion, it is clear that what Peter actually saw in the mirror was the man that he himself had become during his prairie journey from innocence to experience. Because sexual initiation is a form of death--one gives him/her Self to an "other"--what Peter ran away from was his fear of death and guilt. He was afraid to affirm responsibility for having killed his own innocent Self. By "going North", he not only repressed that truth, he blamed Hornyak for his fall into experience. He also blamed Hornyak for stealing his fiancée when Peter, in fact, gave her to him because he did not want the responsibility that love and marriage--also forms of self-surrender--represent.

A very realistic story of the transient in the North, Kroetsch does offer a solution to Peter's fear of death and guilt. In the novel's conclusion, Peter very symbolically throws Hornyak's body overboard and takes his place in the canoe--what was Hornyak's temporary coffin. He is ready, his action suggests, to die also, this time, to give up or kill his false innocent Self and create a new one, one that is capable of bearing guilt and personal responsibility.

The novel paints a pretty grim picture for those of us who "go North" simply because we enjoy its physical beauty and life-style. We didn't go there--not us--to escape from anything but the city. Yet the North shocks us--at least it did me--into seeing the city and the South more clearly than I had before. Death, for instance, is much more visible in the North than in the South. Life there is occasionally violent; the law is sometimes taken into the people's own hands. As well, a death in a small community touches the whole community. No one escapes from its reality. Ironically, "going North" will probably take the southerner closer to death than he has ever been before. And that, in my opinion, is precisely why the North is so important an experience. Its brutal honesty cannot be ignored.

What Kroetsch's novel points out, then, is how destructive the southern Canadian fear of death and guilt is. It inhibits/prohibits personal change. Who or what Peter Guy will become from his self-surrender we don't know for the story ends at that moment in his northern journey.

If But We Are Exiles talks about "going North" from a "macho" transient's point of view, Margaret Atwood's novel Surfacing talks about it from a "victim" female's point of view. There's something for everyone in Canadian literature!

Her heroine--her identity is so ambiguous she has no name--is also afraid of death, although she too does not initially know it. She "goes North"--this time to the near North--across the Ontario border to Quebec to find her missing father. He has left a series of drawings that she finally figures out are copies of Indian rock paintings. When she dives into the lake to find them, a dive that symbolizes her search for the past, she finds her father's drowned body. She does not recognize it though. Instead, she confuses its distorted shape with a foetus that she aborted years earlier but had forgotten about. Like Peter Guy, she too had tried to repress a truth she did not want to face. Again "going North" forced her to see it.

Atwood treats the Canadian problem of false innocence more comprehensively than Kroetsch in But We Are Exiles. Her heroine blames her abortion on her lover, women's sexual exploitation on men and Canada's economic-political weaknesses on America. No one but no one in Canada is responsible for anything. We are all someone else's victim. Once the heroine "sees", however, that she is as guilty as anyore else, her false innocence is shattered, her victim theory collapses--she stops blaming her ex-lover--and like Peter Guy, she is left facing the problem of what to do next.

What is of particular interest in Atwood's treatment of the North is that her heroine undergoes the psychological death that Peter Guy only begins at the conclusion of But We Are Exiles. Copying the pattern of descent that the shaman makes when he enters the world of the dead, Atwood illustrates what it means to die psychologically. Her heroine stops thinking. That, she decides is the source of man's destructiveness. He kills because his mind likes controlling "other" lives. She begins to intuit all that she should do. She removes her clothes in the lake and watches her "false body" float away. She eats plants in the woods; she cannot eat from the garden because human logic created it. Her purpose in transforming herself into an animal is to become a

truly innocent creature--a victim--as opposed to a guilty human being. While she has, in effect, internalized the frontier, left the North as place and entered "the North in man"[3], the psychological frontier, she is still trying to escape from the fact that humans do kill. What is significant about her attempted escape this time is that it is in the right direction.

As the breakdown between her and ordinary reality progresses, she ceases to identify with even animals. She becomes a tree, then the place that grows the tree. She becomes "the North" in her own mind, her irrationality reducing her to the spiritual condition that the shaman achieves when his trance takes him into the world of the dead. When he perceives his body as a skeleton, he is psychologically dead. Then the spirits speak to him. When Atwood's heroine reaches that point, she too sees the dead, first her mother, then her father. In contrast with the shaman, however, her ancestors do not speak to her, nor does she with them. Atwood's point, I assume, is that they have nothing to tell her because the heroine must create their meaning for herself. First of all, however, she must re-create herself.

Her conflict--how to integrate who she was in the past with who she might become in the present--is the problem that we also face when we return South. The North does not teach us what to do with the truths we discover there, it merely points them out. When Atwood's heroine decides at the end of the novel to return to the South, she decides--like us--to live in a technological, unnatural and often very indifferent human world. She cannot become an animal or a spirit. She is caught--also like us--as a human being who must choose continually between two realities. Sometimes her mind and its logic will win; sometimes her feelings and intuition will direct her. Whatever her new Self will be, it will be complex and it will demand that she be free enough and creative enough to make compromises. She will not, therefore, be the neurotic she was at the beginning of her journey.

So far I have discussed the North and its effect on individuals only. Because I accept, however, that Peter Guy and the narrator of Surfacing are representative Canadians, we are, in effect, a nation of neurotics. I would like also to point out how valuable the North's truths are to our Canadian identity as a whole. Just as the novels' characters were afraid to face their past, so is there a reluctance in our national character to face our country's past. How far back in time the Canadian mind can go--or wants to go--is a question that Peter Such explores in his novel Riverrun.

Through a method of storytelling that combines history with the author's own dreams, Such becomes a shaman/artist who tells the story of the Beothuks' extinction from their point of view. His novel's purpose is to take the Beothuks out of government files and put them into the Canadian memory--to bring them back to life. His dreams are his journies into the world of the dead. There he meets his first parents, his Beothuk ancestors, just as Atwood's heroine met her biological parents. Like her, he too must create their meaning. Extinct, because they could neither escape nor adapt to the arrival of the Europeans, the Beothuks' story challenges the Canadian fear of the past. To accept responsibility for their extinction is to put oneself in Peter Guy's place looking at Hornyak's body. They also represent a "lost" part of ourselves.

Riverrun is an important northern story because it illustrates how literature or art can absolve guilt creatively. By remembering the first people that the Europeans met and killed when they came to Canada, we become more honest Canadians than the falsely innocent ones we often claim to be. Our identity needs rounding out. We need to stop running from ourselves and pay the past what we owe it--a place in our present lives. Riverrun shows us how to do that. It also shows us how the psychological frontier--"the North in man"--the frontier that we take with us when we leave the geographical North, is an exciting frontier to explore. How well we use it depends on our challenging our individual fear of death and our ability to change current values. What Such's journey into the North of his mind revealed to him is not necessarily what our personal journeys there will reveal to us. Everyone has his and her own "northern" truths to discover.

To conclude, I would like to read a poem from a volume entitled North of Summer by Al Purdy. The collection describes a journey that the poet took to Baffin Island in 1965. His journey was perhaps more similar to ours than the other examples I have been using. He didn't become a shaman; he tried but his mind was far too rational. Neither did he meet any dead Beothuks or find any bodies that he had wanted to forget. He did see the North realistically, however, and at the end of his journey he felt confused by the meaning of his experience. The volume's concluding poem, "The Country of the Young", describes his persona's meeting A.Y. Jackson in Pangnirtung. Already an old man, Jackson knows that to know "the North" well, the poet will have to go home and think about it.

"The Country of the Young"

A.Y. Jackson for instance
83 years old
halfway up a mountain
standing in a patch of snow
to paint a picture that says
"Look here
You've never seen this country
it's not the way you thought it was
Look again"
And boozy traders
lost in a dream of money
crews of homesick seamen
moored to a China-vision
hunting the North West Passage
they didn't see it either
The colours I mean
for they're not bright Gauguin
or blazing Vincent
not even Breughel's "Hunters in the Snow"
where you can get lost
and found in 5 minutes
--but the original colour-matrix
that after a giant's heartbeat
lighted the maple forests
in the country south
You have to stoop a little
bend over and then look up
--dull orange on a cliff face
that says iron deposits
olive leaves of the ground willow
with grey silver catkins
minute wild flower beacons
sea blue as the world's eye--
And you can't be looking for something else
money or a night's lodging on earth
a stepping stone to death maybe
or you'll never find the place
hear an old man's voice
in the country of the young
that says
"Look here--"

From North of Summer by Al Purdy used by permission of The Canadian Publishers, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto.

NOTES

[1] Jack Schaefer, Shane (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964)

This novel illustrates how justice in the American West depended on the individual's freedom to kill. Shane is a professional gun-slinger whose ability to shoot is the farmers' only means of realizing law and order. In the novel's conclusion Shane leaves the valley, to die or to kill again. He could not reform because the American system endorsed his "criminal" competence.

[2] Otto Rank, "Life and Creation" in The Myth of the Birth of the Hero and other writings, ed. Philip Freund (New York: Random House), pp. 140-142.

Rank also discusses the difference between the neurotic's and the criminal's response to life and death in "Life Fear and Death Fear" in the same edition, p. 275. In "Self and Ideal" Rank explains how the neurotic personality type creates an "ideal Self". This essay explains the psychological process that the narrator of Surfacing will experience if she chooses to continue her recreation.

[3] Jack Warwick, The Long Journey: Literary Themes of French Canada (University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 47

This text discusses the meaning of the pays d'en haut in French Canadian literature. Professor Warwick's study has been essential in directing my study of what "going North" means in English Canadian literature.

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